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ART. I.—THE ECLIPSE OF FAITH.

The Eclipse of Faith; or, a Visit to a Religious Sceptic. Boston, 1852.

THIS volume is published anonymously; but it is well known to be from the pen of Henry Rogers, author of several papers in the Edinburgh Review. It is one of the few books recently published that are destined to live,—full of thought, direct in its aim, conclusive in its reasoning. Its *substratum* is fictitious, the *dramatis personæ* being creatures of the imagination; but the superstructure is truth—truth momentous and all-important. In a series of conversations and discussions between the supposed writer of the volume, his nephew Harrington, and Fellowes, a friend of the latter, the various theories of modern infidelity are examined with candour, and their objections to revealed religion shown to be futile and frivolous. The author has done for the disciples of Strauss, Newman, Parker, and the rationalists and spiritualists of the present age, what Butler did, and Paley, and Watson, for the sceptics of former times: he has swept away their subtle cavils, unveiled their sophistries, and shown the pillar of revelation unharmed by their malignity.

Harrington is a young man of wealth and education. He has travelled in Germany, and after having been driven about by the conflicting winds of opposing doctrines, is introduced to us as a sceptic of the straitest kind. He believes, religiously, nothing. He doubts, not only whether the Bible be true, but whether it be false. Fellowes, on the other hand, is a spiritualist of the modern school,—a disciple of Parker and Francis Newman. He has rejected all religious creeds, has abandoned the Bible as an authoritative revelation of God's will, and claims that spiritual truth is indigenous to the human heart. A few extracts from the first conversation

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between these totally dissimilar friends will give the reader an insight into their characters, which are sustained with singular fidelity throughout the volume:—

“‘I tell you,’ said Harrington, ‘that I believe absolutely no one religious dogma whatever; while yet I would give worlds, if I had them, to set my foot upon a rock. I should even be grateful to any one, who, if he did not give me truth, gave me a phantom of it which I could mistake for reality.’

“‘If you merely meant,’ replied Fellowes, ‘that you did not retain any vestige of your early historical and dogmatical Christianity, why I retain just as little of it. I have rejected all creeds, and I have now found what the Scripture calls that peace which passeth all understanding. Though no Christian in the ordinary sense, I am, I hope, something better; and a truer Christian in the spirit than thousands of those in the letter.’

“‘Letter and spirit!’ said Harrington,—‘you puzzle me exceedingly: you tell me one moment that you do not believe in historical Christianity at all, either its miracles or dogmas,—these are fables; but in the next, why, no old Puritan could garnish such discourse with a more edifying use of the language of Scripture. I suppose you will next tell me that you understand the spirit of Christianity better even than Paul.’

“‘So I do,’ was the reply. ‘*Paulo majora canamus*: for, after all, he was but half delivered from his Jewish prejudices; and when he quitted the non-sense of the Old Testament—though in fact he never *did* thoroughly—he evidently believed the fables of the New just as much as the pure truths which lie at the basis of spiritual Christianity. We separate the dross of Christianity from its fine gold.’”

In the further progress of this conversation Mr. Fellowes develops himself in the language of the modern spiritualists, and has, pat for his purpose at every turn, a quotation from the writings of his teachers. Indeed, he is the embodiment of Messrs. Newman and Parker; while, with logical acuteness, his antagonist, the avowed sceptic, after satirizing their perpetual usage of Bible phraseology, shows that their fundamental principles are identical with those of Lord Herbert, and the elder and more decent deists of that class. The latter, indeed, in one respect, have the advantage of the neophytes of the present day. “Spiritualism” doubts the immortality of the soul; Herbert and his followers took *that* for granted; while both agree in rejecting what they style the supernatural narratives of the Old and New Testaments, and treat as gross absurdities the doctrine of the Trinity, the Atonement, the General Resurrection, the Day of Judgment, and the Punishment of the Wicked in a future world. The name of “Deist,” however, as well as that of “Rationalist,” is unpleasant to the ears of the gentlemen of the new school. They prefer to be styled “Spiritualists,” and while rejecting the Bible as a revelation from God, they claim to be Christians *par excellence*—Christians, freed from the bondage of “the letter;” and, as such, entitled to feel pity, bordering upon contempt, for those who cannot bask in the sunshine of their “divine

philosophy," and are so old-fashioned as to bow submissively to the teachings of the inspired volume.

The inspired volume! Alas! has not Mr. Newman denied that there is any such thing? Even so. He claims to have proved that a book-revelation of moral and spiritual truth is an impossibility. The cardinal doctrine of the new school is that God reveals himself to us *within*, and not from without. In accordance with this sentiment, Fellowes, in the volume before us, directs his friend to "look inwards, that he may see by the direct gaze of the spiritual faculty, bright and clear, those great intuitions of spiritual truth which no book can teach." Admitting for a moment the impossibility of a book-revelation, the sceptic rather poses his illuminated friend by adverting to the fact that, notwithstanding this inward light, the great mass of mankind have a remarkable facility for receiving the erroneous supposition.

"It seems strange," says he, 'that men in general should believe things to be possible when they are impossible.'

"It is," replies Fellowes, 'because they have confounded what is historical or intellectual with moral and spiritual truth.'

"I am afraid that will not excuse their absurdity, because, as you admit, *all* book-revelation is impossible. But further, supposing men to have made this strange blunder, it only shows that the "moral and spiritual" could not be very clearly revealed *within*; and no wonder men began to think that perhaps it might come to them from without! When men begin to mistake blue for red, and square for round, and chaff for wheat, I think it is high time that they repair to a doctor *outside* them to tell them what is the matter with their poor brains. Meantime an external revelation is impossible?"

"Certainly."

"But men, however, have somehow perversely believed it very possible, and that in some shape or other it has been given?"

"They have, I must admit."

"Unhappy race! thus led on by some fatality, though not by the constitution of their nature, (rather by some inevitable perversion of it,) to believe as possible that which is so plainly impossible. O that it did not involve a contradiction to wish that God would relieve them from such universal and pernicious delusions, *by giving them a book-revelation to show them that all book-revelations are impossible!*"

The sceptic presses his point, and, with great gravity, says:—

"Pray permit me to ask, Did *you* always believe that a book-revelation is impossible?"

"How can you ask the question?" is the candid reply. 'You know that I was brought up, like yourself, in the reception of the Bible as the only and infallible revelation of God to mankind.'

"To what do you owe your emancipation from this grievous and universal error, which still infects, in this or some other shape, the myriads of the human race?"

"I think principally to the work of Mr. Newman on "the Soul," and his "Phases of Faith."

"Harrington replies: 'These have been to you, then, at least, a *human* book-revelation that a *divine* book-revelation is impossible—a truth which I

acknowledge you could not have received by *divine* book-revelation without a contradiction. You ought, indeed, to think very highly of Mr. Newman *It is well when God cannot do a thing that man can!"*

The conversation on this point is too protracted for our pages. As was fitting, it being the fundamental principle of "spiritualism," our author brings to bear upon it all his powers. The Socratic mode of argumentation is plied with great skill, and the disciple of Mr. Newman is driven just where Mr. Newman himself would have been driven had he been present *in propria persona*, into the manifestly absurd, but perfectly logical conclusion that "THAT MAY BE POSSIBLE WITH MAN WHICH IS IMPOSSIBLE WITH GOD."

Further on in the volume the author, who represents himself as a mere listener to the above conversation, reads to the young men a paper on the subject prepared by himself. It is a close-reasoned argument, or rather series of arguments, to prove the *possibility* of an external revelation of moral truth, the *usefulness* of such a revelation, and, what is most to the purpose, that such a revelation is *in strict analogy* with the conditions of human development. On this last point the author's remarks appear to us perfectly conclusive. It is a fact, however it may be accounted for, that external influences do mould and modify man's *intellectual* position in this world. What else makes the difference between a Hottentot and an Englishman? Admitting, as claimed by "the spiritualist," that all men have the same innate susceptibilities, "potentialities," as they say, of what avail are they, even in an intellectual point of view, unless something is brought to bear upon them from without? And what is it that is thus brought to bear upon the human mind, making such a mighty difference between the savage and the civilized races, but a "book-revelation?" Hear our author:—

"The world waits for a—BOOK. Among the varied external influences amidst which the human race is developed, this is incomparably the most important, and the only one that is absolutely *essential*. Upon it the collective education of the race depends. It is the sole instrument of registering, perpetuating, transmitting thought. Yes, whatever trivial and vulgar associations may impair our due conceptions of the grandeur of this material and artificial organon of man's development, as compared with the intellectual and moral energies which have recourse to it, but which are almost impotent without it, God has made man's whole career of triumphs dependent upon this same art of writing! The whole progress of the world he has created, he has made dependent upon the alphabet! Without this the progress of the individual is inconceivably slow, and with him, for the most part, progress terminates. By this alone can we garner the fruits of experience, become wise by the wisdom of others, and strong by their strength. Without this man everywhere remains, age after age, immovably a savage; and, if he were to lose it when he has once gained it, would, after a little ineffectual flutter, by the aid of tradition, sink into barbarism again. Till this cardinal want is

supplied, all considerable progress is impossible. It may look odd to say that the whole world is dependent on anything so purely artificial; but, in point of fact, it is only another way of stating the truth, that God has constituted the race a *series* of mutually dependent beings; and as each term of this series is perishable and evanescent, the development and improvement of the race must depend on an instrument by which an interconnexion can be maintained between its parts; till then, progress must not only be most precarious, but virtually impossible. To the truth of this all history testifies. I say, then, not only that, if God has given man a revelation at all, he has but acted in analogy with that law by which he has made man so absolutely dependent upon external culture, but that, if he has given it *in the very shape of a book*, he has acted also in strict analogy *with the very form* in which he has imposed that law on the world. He has simply made use of that instrument; which, by the very constitution of our nature and of the world, he has made absolutely essential to the progress and advancement of humanity. May we not conclude from analogy, that if God has, indeed, thus constituted the world, and if he busies himself at all in the fortunes of miserable humanity, he has not disdained to take part in its education, by condescendingly using that very instrument which himself has made the condition of all human progress? I think, even if you hesitate to admit that God *has* given us a 'book-revelation,' you must admit it would be at least in manifest coincidence with the laws of human development and the 'constitution and course of nature.'—Pp. 301-3.

In the discussion of that favourite dogma of "the Spiritualists," that *faith* may exist independently of *belief*, and that there may be true and acceptable faith however erroneous or absurd the creed, the combatants on either side evince much ingenuity. Fellowes is here quite at home in the dialectics of his teachers. He quotes, with evident hope of gaining the sceptic's assent to it, Mr. Newman's broad assertion:—"Nowhere from any body of priests, clergy, or ministers, as an order, is religious progress to be anticipated till *intellectual creeds are destroyed*;" and Mr. Parker's "beautiful" maxim:—"No one form of religion is absolutely true; faith may be compatible with them all." Harrington, of course, has no special objection to the destruction of creeds so earnestly contended for by Messrs. Parker and Newman and their allies, and, seeing that he lives and moves and has his being in an atmosphere of doubt, it matters little to him if priests, clergy, and ministers were all involved "as an order" in the same destruction. As usual, however, he has difficulties, and throws the dark shadow of his scepticism over his friend's attempted illumination. "If I understand you," he says, "an acceptable faith may, or may not, coëxist with a true belief; and men who believe in Jupiter or Jehovah, in one God or a thousand, who worship the sun, or an idol, or a cat, or a monkey, all may have an equally acceptable faith."

This is carrying out the dogma to its legitimate results. It is, in other words, Mr. Parker's own statement. Here it is:—"The principle of *true* faith may be found to coëxist with the grossest and most hideous misconceptions of God." Here a question

suggests itself. These premises being granted, is there, or can there be, any such thing as *idolatry*? and if so, what is it? What is that thing against which the Bible is so full of denunciations,—against which “the Everlasting fixed his canon” from the smoking summit of Mount Sinai? In whichever way the theorists of the new school answer this question, they are involved in an absurdity. Logically, they ought to say there is no such thing as idolatry. This is, doubtless, what they will say by-and-by, but not yet have they ventured so far. He is an idolater, according to their teaching, who worships an idol *knowing it to be nothing more*.* He who does homage to a wooden image, believing it to be divine; who worships a consecrated wafer, a cat, or a crocodile, an amulet, or a gree-gree, supposing them to be something more than they appear to be, is not an idolater. But does any one, in heathen or in Christian lands, worship anything without believing it, somehow, in some way or other, to possess divine attributes? Is it not, on the contrary, a contradiction in terms to suppose that a rational being *can* worship what he believes not to be divine, and consequently not to be entitled to worship? Satisfy the Romanist that the wafer is flour and water, and nothing more, or the most degraded savage that the object of his father’s worship is nothing but a manufactured thing, and it is impossible for him any longer to offer unto it the sincere homage of his heart; so that we come precisely to the same result, and, according to the “Spiritualism” of the present day, there is no such thing as idolatry.

The absurdity that faith has nothing to do with the intellect, but is exclusively a state of the affections, is well exposed in the course of the conversation we are now considering:—

“‘The writers you are fond of quoting,’ says Harrington, ‘very generally give an illustration of the nature of *faith* by pointing to the ingenuous trust of a child in the wisdom and kindness of a parent.’

“‘They do,’ is the reply, ‘and is it not a beautiful illustration? *That* is genuine faith, indeed!’

“‘I am willing to take the illustration. The child has faith, we see, in his father’s superior wisdom and experienced kindness.’

“‘Yes.’

“‘He believes them therefore.’

“‘Certainly.’

“‘But *belief* is *reason*.’

* Lest we be thought to hyperbolize or caricature the sentiments of this new school of Deists, we subjoin a quotation from Mr. Francis Newman’s late work on “the Soul:”—“To worship,” he says, “as *perfect and infinite*, one *whom we know* to be imperfect and finite, this is idolatry, and, in any bad sense, this alone. . . . If idolatry is to mean anything wrong and bad, the word must be reserved for the cases in which a man degrades his ideal by worshipping something that falls short of it.”

" 'Certainly; but faith is something more than that.'

" 'No doubt; but he *does* believe these things.'

" 'Yes, certainly.'

" 'And if he did not believe them he would cease to have *faith*. If, for instance, he be convinced that his father is mad, or cruel, or unjust, the state of affections which you call *faith* will diminish and at last cease.'—P. 111.

This is a conclusion which Mr. Fellowes is not quite ready to admit. And no wonder, for it sweeps away the gossamer fabric upon which he delighted to gaze. It is simple, direct, and conclusive. It shows that although in *theory* a distinction may be maintained between the intellect and the emotions, yet *practically* they are inseparable, and that faith partakes of the nature of the truth or falsehood believed. So it has always been; so it must be, necessarily. In the "absolute religion" preached by the "Spiritualists," of whom Fellowes is represented as the most docile disciple, it is fundamental on the other hand that *faith* is entirely independent of any intellectual condition—that faith, in short, may be just as real, just as acceptable when the intellect believes a lie as when it receives the truth, and hence the argument that a revelation of the will of God is unnecessary. The avowed sceptic is very severe, and deservedly so, upon this point. After having wound up his antagonist in the argument, he says:—

" 'If *this* be the "faith" to which you attach so much importance, it really is not worth the powder and shot that must be expended in the controversy. For my own part, I do not hesitate to say that I would rather be absolutely destitute of faith altogether than exercise the most absolute faith ever bestowed upon a tawdry image of the Virgin, or some misshapen beast of an idol of Hindoo or Hottentot workmanship.'

" 'O my friend,' cried Fellowes, 'do not thus blaspheme the most holy feelings of humanity, however misapplied.'

" 'I do not conceive that I do in declaring abhorrence and contempt of such perversions of "sentiment," however "holy" you may call them. Hideous as they are, however, they are less hideous than the half-length apologies for them on the part of cultivated and civilized human beings, like our "spiritual" infidels. Your tenderness is ludicrously misplaced. I wonder whether the *same* apology would extend to those exercises of simple-minded "faith," in which it is said the Spanish and Portuguese pirates sometimes indulged when they implored the benediction of their saints on their predatory expeditions! And yet I see not how it could be avoided; for the exorbitancies of these pirates were not more hateful to humanity than are the rites practised, and the duties enjoined by many forms of religion. What delightful ingenuous faith and genuine simplicity of mind did these pirates manifest! . . . The fanaticism of such pious and devout beasts as those saint-loving pirates is not a more flagrant violation of the principles of morality, than the acts which flow directly as the immediate and natural expression of the infinitely varied but all-polluting forms of idolatry with which you are pleased to identify your "absolute religion," and on *all* of which you suppose an acceptable faith to be very possible.'—Pp. 113, 114.

With more logical precision, but less vivacity, our ingenious sceptic presents his objections to "the absolute religion" in a long and

elaborate paper, which he is represented as reading to his uncle and his friend Fellowes. It is entitled, "Reasons for declining the *via media* between revealed religion and atheism or scepticism; with special reference to the theories of Mr. Theodore Parker and Mr. Francis Newman." It is professedly a narrative of his own experience, and one is tempted to ask, How a man who reasons so closely and conclusively still remains a sceptic? Indeed, Harrington's character here borders upon the impossible. That, however, is no concern of ours, and seems not to have troubled the author. Enough for him and for us that the character is conceivable; and it is amusing at least to witness how easily the sturdy infidel, with no arguments but those belonging to his own proper armory, batters down the dainty citadel of the superfine religionists who, like himself, reject the Bible as a revelation from heaven. The article is too long to be quoted entire, and the sentences are so closely interlocked as to forbid extracts. We may advert, however, to two or three points. And first, the diversity of sentiment between the two great hierophants of "the absolute religion" upon a most vital subject—the immortality of the soul—seems to require at their hands some explanation. We marvel not that Harrington was pothered by it. Mr. Parker's "spiritual insight" perfectly satisfies him that the soul of man is immortal. The "inner revelation" of Mr. Newman, on the other hand, leaves the question in doubt. For all he knows, man dies like a dog. Strange, that the universal revelation which, according to the teaching of both these gentlemen, is made to every human breast, should be in fact nothing better than a dark lantern, shedding rays of light upon one disciple, while holding its opaque sides and angles steadily to another,—his equal in assumed docility, his superior in softness.

The insuperable difficulty of abstracting the *essence* of "the absolute religion," of ascertaining precisely *what that is* "which *equally* embalms all forms, from the Christianity of Paul to the religion of the grim Calmuck," is shown in strong colours in the paper before us. The sceptic avows himself to be, after every honest effort he was capable of making, very much like the man who tried, and tried in vain, to form in his mind an abstraction of the Lord Mayor. That is his misfortune certainly. Even Mr. Parker would admit so much, and tender to him his pity; while he himself is like the antagonist of the man referred to, who said, and swore to it, that *he* could form an abstraction of a lord mayor, not only without his horse, gown, and gold chain, but even without stature, feature, colour, hands, head, feet, or anything else. It happens—very perversely indeed for the universal acceptance of the absolute religion;

but it does happen—that the great majority of our race are just as incapable of this profound abstraction as Harrington professes to be; and we see no ray of hope for them, unless it be communicated through a “book-revelation:” but that, so far as relates to spiritual things, is, on the theory of the abstractionists, an absurd impossibility.

But again: the reasons given by the new-school “Spiritualists” for their rejection of the Bible as a revelation of the will of God, are shown by the sceptic to be equally sufficient to warrant his doubts in reference to the works, the government, or even the existence of the great Supreme. “The human mind,” says Mr. Newman, in his work on the Soul, “is competent to sit in moral and spiritual judgment on a professed revelation, and to decide (if the case seem to require it) in the following tone: This doctrine attributes to God that which *we* should all call harsh, cruel, or unjust in man: it is, therefore, intrinsically inadmissible; for if God may be what *we* should call *cruel*, he may equally well be what *we* should call a *liar*; and if so, of what use is his word to us?” Those special parts of the “professed revelation” upon which Mr. Newman sits “in spiritual judgment,” and which compel from him “the righteous verdict” that the Bible cannot be from God, are precisely those upon which infidels of every class have harped their doleful music from the beginning. The command to Abraham to sacrifice his son, is what *we* should call cruel; the approbation of Sisera’s murder by the wife of Heber, although the approbation on the part of God is only inferential; and more especially the command to exterminate the Canaanites, are, “in our judgment,” harsh and unjust, and therefore intrinsically inadmissible, and therefore the Bible which relates them must be rejected. So be it, says the sceptic,—

.... “and yet does not God *do* still more startling things every day of our lives, and which appear *less* startling only because we are familiar with them,—at least, if we believe that the elements, pestilence, famine, in a word, destruction in all its forms, really fulfil *his* bidding? Is there any difference in the world between the cases, except that the terrible phenomena which we find it impossible to account for are on an infinitely larger scale, and in duration as ancient as the world? that they have, in fact, been going on for thousands of weary years? Does not a pestilence or a famine send thousands of the guilty and the innocent alike—nay, thousands of those who know not their right hand from their left—to one common destruction? Does not God, if you suppose it his doing, swallow up whole cities by earthquake, or overwhelm them with volcanic fires? I say, Is there any difference between the cases, except that the victims are very rarely so wicked as the Canaanites are said to have been, and that God, in the one case, *himself* does the very things which he commissions men to do in the other? Now, if the *thing* be wrong, I, for one, shall never think it less wrong to do it one’s self than to do it by proxy. . . . Why, if God does not mind *doing* such things, are we to suppose that he minds on some occasions *ordering them to be done*? unless we suppose

that man—delicate creature!—has more refined intuitions of right and wrong, and knows better what they are than God himself. Now, Mr. Newman and you affirm, that 'to suppose God should have *enjoined* the destruction of the Canaanites is a contradiction of our moral intuitions, and that for this and similar reasons you cannot believe the Bible to be the *word* of God. The things I have mentioned are in still more glaring contradiction to such 'intuitions,' than which none appears to me more clear than this—that the morally innocent ought not to suffer; and *I therefore doubt whether the above phenomena are the work of God.* I must refuse, on the very same principle on which Mr. Newman disallows the Bible to be a true revelation of such a Being, to allow this universe to be so. In equally glaring inconsistency is the entire administration of this lower world with what appears to me a first principle of moral rectitude—namely, that he who suffers a wrong to be inflicted on another, where he can prevent it, is responsible for the wrong itself."—Pp. 150, 153.

The whole course of reasoning pursued by the sceptic on these topics appears to us perfectly conclusive. There is, absolutely, no middle way between the religion of the Bible and no religion at all. If there are difficulties, and it is freely conceded that there are difficulties in revelation, there are still greater difficulties in every scheme that man's ingenuity has suggested in its place. The fact is admirably shown in what is perhaps the most ingenious part of the volume before us. It is an account of a select party at the house of Harrington, where are assembled representatives of all the more prominent forms of belief and infidelity. The uncle, an old-fashioned believer in the Bible, is of course invited, and Mr. Fellowes, the implicit follower of the absolute religion that needs no Bible. There are two Roman Catholics—one a bigoted priest, the other a more liberal layman; three rationalists, one of them a devoted follower of Strauss; one deist, of the old school; an atheist, of the Miss Martineau stamp; and a young student, "five hundred fathoms in German philosophy." Truly it is a queer company; and the manner in which one absurdity is set off against another, is most amusing. As was natural, each became more anxious to prove that his *mode* of proving Christianity false is the *true* mode, than to prove the falsehood of Christianity itself.

"'I tell you what,' said the Straussian, with some warmth, 'sooner than believe all the absurdities of such an hypothesis as that of Paulus, I could believe Christianity to be what it professes to be.'

"'I may say the same of that of Strauss,' said the other, with equal asperity; 'if I had no better escape than his, I could say to him, as Agrippa said to Paul, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian."'

"'For my part,' exclaimed the deist, who was perfectly contented with his brief solution, 'I should rather say, as Festus said to Paul, "Much learning hath made you both mad;" and sooner than believe the impossibilities of the theory of either,—sooner than suppose men *honestly* and *guilelessly* to have misled the world by a book which you and I admit to be a tissue of fables, legends, and mystical nonsense,—I could find it in my heart to go over to the Pope himself.'

"'Good!' whispered our host, (the universal sceptic,) 'we shall have them all becoming Christians by-and-by, just to spite one another.' The admirer of Mr. Atkinson and Miss Martineau here reminded the company that the miracles of the New Testament *might* be true—only the result of Mesmerism. 'Christ,' said he,—to employ the words of Mr. Atkinson,—'was constitutionally a *clairvoyant* . . . Prophecy, and miracle, and inspiration, are the effects of *abnormal* conditions of man. . . Prophecy, clairvoyance, healing by touch, visions, dreams, revelations, are *now known* to be simple matters in nature, which may be induced at will, and experimented upon at our firesides here in England (climate and other circumstances permitting) as well as in the Holy Land.* But no one seemed prepared to receive this hypothesis. At last our host, addressing the deist, said: 'But you forget, Mr. M., that though you find it insurmountably difficult to conceive a book full of lies (as you express it to have been) consciously or unconsciously the product of honest and guileless minds, you ought to find it a little difficult to conceive a book (as you admit the New Testament to be) of profound moral worth produced by shameless impostors. But let that pass. Let us assume that Christianity, as a supernaturally revealed and miraculously authenticated system, is false, though you are dolefully at variance as to how it is to be proved to be so; let us assume, I say, that this system is false, and dismiss it. I am much more anxious to hear what is the positive system of religious truth, which you are of course each persuaded is the true one. I have left off to "seek;" but if any one will find the truth for me, without my seeking it, how rejoiced shall I be.'—Pp. 181, 182.

Of course, each of the visitors is ready to help the sceptic to find "the truth." The only difficulty is that no two of them agree, and at every step in the enlightening process the advocate of any theory finds all the rest in bitter hostility. The "Straussian" has as little sympathy from the admirer of Miss Martineau, as the follower of Hegel from the bigoted Papist; and, while they all regard the old-fashioned believer in the Bible as a strange creature, staring at him as they would at the remains of a *megatherium*, they very successfully confound one another without convincing anybody. Harrington, of course, enjoys the whole scene hugely, and pits the advocate of one theory against another with admirable adroitness. Alluding to his admiring countryman's neoteric propensities, he sarcastically observes:—

... "'In many cases we are too late in changing our metaphysical fashions, so that we sometimes take up with rapture a man whom the Germans are just beginning to cast aside. Our servile imitators live on the crumbs that fall from the German table, or run off with a well-picked bone to their kennel, as if it were a treasure, and growl and show their teeth to any one that approaches them, in very superfluous terror of being deprived of it. It would be well if they were to imitate the importers of Parisian fashions, and let us know what is the philosophy or theology *à-la-mode*, that we may not run a chance of appearing perfect frights in the estimate of even the Germans themselves.'—P. 191.

After the champions of the several theories have pretty well exhausted their dialectic skill, and our author has shown up the an-

* He cited the substance of these sentiments. I have since referred to, and here quote, the *ipissima verba*. See "Letters," &c.—Pp. 175, 212.

tipodal contrast between the Romanist, who deems the Bible too precious to be intrusted to vulgar hands, and the "Newmanite," who estimates it as perfectly worthless and nonsensical, the uncle, by permission of the company, gives them a detailed account of his own religious experience. He shows how it was that, in his own language, *infidelity* prevented his becoming an *infidel*, in a narrative, whether of actual occurrences or fictitious we cannot say, but certainly of great verisimilitude. As with most young men, it was rather the stern morality of the New Testament than its supernatural history that induced him to seek for arguments to prove its falsity. He was not insensible to the *advantages* of infidelity,—its very accommodating ethics, its large liberty for the indulgence of appetite, and its total negation of all accountability in a future state. But then nature had endowed him with prudence as well as passion, and he wanted *proof* of the falsity of Christianity, and evidence of the truth of some one or other of the opposing theories. These he professes to have sought with all diligence. He went from one sceptic to another. He conversed with men of every shade of sentiment. He listened with candour to the theorists who resolve everything into chance, to those who demonstrate that there is no God, and to those who are equally positive that everything is God. On the subject of *miracles* especially, he found a most plentiful variety of sentiment and dogmatism. One class declared all miracles to be absolutely impossible; another would not presume to deny their possibility, but were quite certain that no amount of evidence would establish the fact of their occurrence; while a third, admitting miracles to have been wrought, maintained their utter incompetency to establish or attest a *moral* truth. But we may not follow him through the perplexing dilemmas in which he found himself successively involved. Suffice it to say, that he was *driven* to the adoption of Christianity by the manifest and palpable contradictions of the opposing theories, and proves conclusively that it requires stronger faith—a faith which might rather be called credulity—to *reject* than to receive Christianity.

We must, however, advert briefly to the author's masterly argument on the subject of miracles. It is couched in a dialogue between Harrington and his friend, and is, in many respects, the most valuable portion of his book. Passing by the difficulty of answering the question, *What is a miracle?* and accepting the definition that it is a suspension or violation* of a law of nature, without, however, being able to define what a "law of nature" is, the friends find themselves plunging from one absurdity into another:—

.... "If we were told," says Harrington, "that last year an event of such a miraculous nature occurred as that the earth did not revolve for twenty-four hours together, we should at once reject it without any examination of witnesses, or troubling ourselves with anything of the kind."

"Unquestionably."

"And if it were said to have occurred twenty years ago, we should take the same course."

"Certainly."

"And so if any such event were said to have occurred eighteen hundred years ago?"

"Agreed."

"And if such events were said at *that* day to have occurred eighteen hundred years previously, we believe, of course, the men of that time would have been equally entitled to reason in the same way about them as ourselves; and, in short, that *we* may fearlessly apply the same principle to the same epoch."

"Of course."

"And so for two thousand years before that; and, in fact, we must believe that everything has always been going on in the same manner,—the sun always rising and setting, men dying and never rising again, and so forth."

"Exactly so, even from the beginning of the creation," said Fellowes.

"The beginning of the creation! My good fellow, I do not understand you. As we have been going back, we have seen that there is no period at which the same principle of judgment will not apply, and following it fearlessly, I say that we are bound to believe that there never has been a period when the present order has been different from what it is; in other words, that the progression has been an eternal one."

Of course Mr. Parker's disciple is not prepared to admit this. He resorts to the usual sophistical evasions. Creation, forsooth, is not to be considered as a miracle, although manifestly it comes within the limits of the definition of the word as mutually agreed upon by the disputants, being a violation of the previously established series of antecedents and consequents. The first appearance of a living man in our world was an event of the same nature, although a greater wonder than would be the reviviscence of a dead body. Pressed with this difficulty, Mr. Fellowes says:—

"It is impossible, in the face of geologists, to contend that there have not been many such revolutions in the history of the world as these. Man himself is of comparatively recent introduction into our system."

To which Harrington replies:—

"I cannot help what the geologists affirm. If we are to abide by our *principle*, we have no warrant to believe that there have been any such violations, or infractions, or revolutions of nature's laws in the world's history. If they contend for the interpolation of events in the history of the universe, which, by our criterion, are of the nature of miracles, and we are convinced that miracles are impossible, we must reject the conclusions of geologists."

This is very clear; but, unfortunately, the Spiritualists and the advocates of the "absolute religion" which needs no Bible, are great admirers of the geologists, regarding them as their natural allies in the great work of fastening absurdities on the Mosâic

records. The only plausible answer to the difficulty is given by Fellowes:—

“‘May we not say,’ he asks, ‘that the great epochs in the history of the universe are themselves but the manifestation of law?’”

To this the answer is very simple. If the great epochs in the world's history are manifestations of law, why may not the believer in the actual occurrence of miracles place *them* in the same category? After dwelling a moment on this point, the sceptic asks, amusingly and conclusively:—

“‘If you saw now introduced on the earth, for the first time, a being as unlike man as man is unlike the other animals,—say with seven senses, wings on his shoulders, a pair of eyes behind his head as well as in front of it, and the tail of a peacock, by way of finishing him off handsomely,—would you not call such a phenomenon a miracle?’”

“‘I think I should,’ said Fellowes, laughing.

“‘And if the creature died, leaving no issue, would you continue to call it so?’”

“‘Yes.’”

“‘But if you found he was the head of a *race*, as man was, and a whole nation of such monsters springing from him, then would you say that this wonderful intrusion into the sphere of our experience was *no* miracle, but that it was according to law?’”

“‘I should.’”

“‘Verily, my dear friend, I am afraid the world will laugh at us for making such fantastical distinctions. The infraction of “established sequences” ceases to be miraculous, if the wonder is perpetuated and sufficiently multiplied! Meantime, what becomes of the prodigy during the time in which it is *uncertain* whether anything will come of it or not?’—Pp. 256, 259.

The distinctions are, indeed, “fantastical;” and the idea of waiting to see whether the wonder is to be repeated before giving or withholding the name of *miracle*, is sufficiently ludicrous. But Harrington presses his friend still more closely on another point. Referring to the Eastern prince mentioned by Hume, he contends that, in the absence of all experience of his own, or of those around him, the royal sceptic was perfectly right in disbelieving the existence of such a thing as ice. He had never beheld solid water, nor had any of his associates. True, they had testimony from those who had seen the phenomenon; but the dictum of our unbelieving philosophers is, “*No* testimony can establish a miracle.” In the language of Hume himself, “Nature does not transgress certain limits either in the moral or physical world.” Now, for water to become solid, would be, in the estimation of a dweller in the tropics, a palpable transgression of nature's limits; and if he is justified in the assumption that no testimony can establish such a transgression, it is most certain he ought to continue to doubt the possibility of such a phenomenon as ice. The conclusion evidently is,

that the prince was perfectly right in disbelieving what *we* know to be the truth; or that our uniform experience, with its limited variations, is no sufficient test; and that there are cases for which it makes no provision, among which what are called miracles may be classed.

But further, on the supposition that miracles are an impossibility and an absurdity *per se*, how are we to dispose of that mass of testimony which affirms the contrary—which declares and persists in the declaration, in defiance of contempt, and injury, and suffering, that such things have been? It is certainly contradictory to our experience, that under such circumstances men would persist in these declarations. Such a complication of false testimony would be “a flagrant violation of the established series of sequences,” on which, as applied to the physical world, the sceptic justifies himself in rejecting all miracles. In other words, he gets rid of miracles, in connexion with material things, by swallowing miracles connected with mind. On this point, in answer to the suggestion of his friend, that there never was such a case of testimony, the sceptic replies:—

“I wish this could help us; but it plainly will not, because we have concluded that, if there *were* such testimony, we *must* believe it false. . . . There *has been*, in the opinion of millions, testimony often given to miracles, which, if false, does imply that the laws of human nature have been turned *topsy-turvy*, and I, for my part, know not how to disprove it. If, in such case, the testimony, *the falsity of which would be a miracle*, is not to be rejected, then we must admit that the miracle which it supports is true. . . . If you believe the testimony false, you must believe the alleged miracle false; but you will have then the *moral miracle to believe*. If you believe the testimony true, you will then believe the physical miracle true. Perhaps the best way will be to disbelieve both alternately in rapid succession, and you will then hardly perceive the difficulty at all!”—Pp. 275, 276.

But the friends run themselves into a still worse dilemma. What should we do, or in what state of mind should we be if we *did* see a miracle? is the question gravely proposed by the sceptic, to which Fellowes replies:—

“Of what use is the discussion of such a particular case, when you know it is impossible that we should ever see it realized?”

“Of course it is,” says Harrington, “just as it is *impossible* that we should ever see levers perfectly inflexible, or cords perfectly flexible. Nevertheless, it is perfectly possible to entertain such a hypothetical case, and to reason with great conclusiveness on the consequences of such a supposition, and in the same way we can imagine that we have seen a miracle; and what then?”

“Why, if we were to *see* one, of course seeing is believing. We must give up our principle,” said Fellowes, laughing.

“Do you think so? I think we should be very foolish then. How can we be *sure* that we have seen it? Can it appeal to anything stronger than our *senses*? and have not our senses often beguiled us? Must we not rather abide by that general induction from the evidence to which our ordinary experience points us? In other words, ought we not to adhere to the great principle we have already laid down, that a miracle is impossible?”

Fellowes perceives the absurdity of adhering to the principle laid down in opposition to the evidence of his own eyesight. He replies:—

“‘But, according to this, if we err in that principle, and God were to work a miracle for the very purpose of convincing us, it would be impossible for him to attain his purpose.’”—P. 277.

Nothing can be more conclusive; and it is somewhat marvellous that men so sagacious as Mr. Parker, and so devout as Mr. Newman, have not already perceived that the position, “Miracles are impossible,” is nothing more nor less than a limitation of power that is almighty; and the conclusion Harrington reaches is logically correct: *If I believe that a miracle is impossible, I must admit that if I err in that, it is impossible for God himself to convince me of it.*

There is one other point to which we may advert briefly. It is this: “Uniform experience,” as the phrase is, being against the possibility of miracles, it ought to follow that the mass of mankind do not believe in them, never did, and never will. Now the fact is directly and notoriously the reverse. The existence of a Supreme Being having been admitted, the human mind seems, spontaneously and almost universally, to connect with his existence the performance of miracles, and finds no difficulty, in the absence of all experience, in resting its belief on the testimony of others. This testimony may be oral or written; and, as it is well expressed by our author, it is a part of *our* uniform experience on this subject, that mankind disregard and disbelieve the lessons of *their* uniform experience. Says Harrington:—

“‘This is almost a miracle of itself; at all events a curious paradox, but one which we must not stay to examine; though I confess it leads to one other humiliating conclusion,—a little corollary, which I think it is not unimportant to mark,—and that is, that we can never expect these enlightened views of ours to spread among the mass of mankind; . . . and though miracles never can be real, they will, nevertheless, always be believed; and that, though the truth is with us, it can never be established in the minds of men in general.’”—P. 281.

After thoroughly exhausting the subject of miracles, our author turns his attention to the question of *historic credibility*, as involved in the theory of the celebrated Strauss. That theory has its foundation in the fact that certain apparent contradictions and seeming inconsistencies have been detected in the narrative parts of the Bible, and therefore the whole of it is unworthy of credence, and is to be regarded as mythic, legendary, and fabulous. In a conversation between Harrington and “a devout admirer of Strauss,” it is shown, with great clearness, that the same arguments which bear against the credibility of the Scriptural narratives may be urged with equal

plausibility against all history whatever; and that, on the same principles, the whole of it must be abandoned to scepticism. Than the Sacred Scriptures there are, certainly, no writings which have been more rigidly scrutinized, and none which bear greater evidences of trustworthiness, and, at the same time, none of any magnitude in which greater discrepancies may not be found; and hence, upon the principle of Strauss, we must reject not only the narratives of the Evangelists, but those of every historian, ancient and modern, profane as well as sacred.

Pursuing this line of argument, the author shows that no event whatever may not become a subject of very serious doubt, if tortured in a critical alembic, like that by which Strauss and his associates profess to try the narratives of the sacred writers. In a section entitled, "*The papal aggression shown to be impossible,*" supposed to be written by a learned critic eighteen hundred and fifty years hence, it is made very manifest that the well-known attempt of the Pope to reëstablish the Romish hierarchy in England two years ago, is merely a figment of the imagination; or, at any rate, that it cannot be received as a literal statement of historic truth. The learned doctor examines the narrative internally and externally. In a manner perfectly Straussian, he detects discrepancies and absurdities, and spreads them before the reader with wonderful complacency and the greatest possible air of candour and honesty. He admits, indeed, that there may have been "some nucleus" of fact which served as the basis of this pseudo-historical legend, but points out unequivocal traces of "unhistoric origin." Finally, he comes to the conclusion that the story of Pío Nono's division of England into twelve sees, with a Romish bishop at the head of each, and the appointment of Nicholas Wiseman as Archbishop of Westminster and cardinal, is nothing more than an allegorico-ecclesiastico-political satire.

In examining the *internal* evidence, the critic asks, with an air of triumph:—

"Is it possible to overlook the *singular* character of the names which everywhere meet us? They, in fact, tell their own tale, and almost, as it were, proclaim of themselves that they are allegorical. . . . Thus the name "Wiseman," is evidently chosen to represent the proverbial craft which was attributed to the Church of Rome; and "Nicholas" has also been chosen, as I apprehend, for the purpose of indicating the source whence that craft was derived. In all probability the name was selected just in the same manner as Bunyan, in his immortal *Pilgrim's Progress*, (which still delights the world,) has chosen "Worldly Wiseman" for one of his characters. It is said that he was a Spaniard: but who so fit as a Spaniard to be represented as the agent of the Holy See? while, as there never was a Spaniard of that name, every one can see that historic probability has not been regarded. The word "Newman," again, (and

observe the significant fact, that there were two of them,) was, in all probability, I may say certainly, designed to embody two opposite *tendencies*, both of which perhaps claimed, in impatience of the effete humanity of that age, (a dead and stereotyped Protestantism,) to introduce a new order of things. These parties (if I may form a conjecture from the document itself) were essaying to extricate the mind of the age from the difficulties of its intellectual position; an age, asserting inconsistently, on the one hand, the freedom of the spiritual life, and, on the other, claiming for the Bible an authorized supremacy over all the phenomena of that spiritual life. One of these parties sought to solve this difficulty by endeavouring to resuscitate the spirit of the *past*; the other, by attempting to set human intellect free from the yoke of *all* external authority. In all probability the names were suggested to the somewhat profane allegorico-satirical writer by that text in the English version, "*Put on the new man,*" the new man of the *Spirit*. We are almost driven to this conclusion by the extreme and ludicrous improbability of two men—brothers, brought up at the same University—gradually receding, *pari passu*, from the same point in opposite directions to the uttermost extreme; one, till he had embraced the most puerile legends of the middle ages; the other, till he had proceeded to open infidelity. Probably such a curious coincidence of events was never heard of since the world began; and this must, at all events, be rejected."—Pp. 349, 351.

In the same strain this very sagacious critic dissects other parts of the internal evidence of this strange narrative. In his most patient and painstaking researches into the archives of the national museums of the age in which he is represented as living, about *Anno Domini* 3700, he declares, upon his honour, that he finds no mention of any man of eminence bearing the name of Newman, or of Wiseman, or indeed of any of the others who are said to have figured during these singular proceedings. This, at any rate, he feels warranted in considering a *presumptive* proof that the whole narrative is a fiction.

But the *external* evidence is still more conclusive. How contrary to all probability the statement that France, of all the nations of Europe, should take sides with the Pope against a *republican* movement on the part of his subjects! Did not the French emperor—if there ever were such a person, and Napoleon be anything more than a *myth*—imprison the Pope? Is not France represented as having been, at this very period, racked with agitation, with infidelity, and democratic violence? On these points the critic dogmatizes with the flippancy of Strauss, until he reaches the conclusion that the story of the papal aggression is what the German would make the Scripture narrative, a fabulous invention, or, at best, a conglomeration of truth and fiction, so jumbled together as to forbid the possibility of separating the one from the other. Hear how conclusively he demonstrates that what *we* know really occurred some two years ago never did take place, and, in fact, never could have been anything more than a fiction of the imagination:—

“That France should have undertaken the task of subduing a republican movement just when she had come out of a similar revolution, or rather many such,—and of reseating the Pope on his throne, when she had been more impatient of the restraints of all religion than any other nation in Europe,—is perfectly incredible! Not less improbable is it that, supposing (as may perhaps be true) that there was a basis of fact in the asserted rebellion of the Romans, and Pio Nono's restoration to his dominions, (though not by France—that the intelligent reader will on politico-logical grounds pronounce impossible,—but more probably by the Spaniards,) yet can we suppose that a power which was always celebrated for its astuteness and subtlety would choose that very moment of humiliation and ignominy to rush into an act so audacious as that of reëstablishing the Romish hierarchy in England,—a nation by far the most powerful in the world at that time,—a nation which, if it had pleased, could have blown Rome into the air in three months?”

Some of the well-known particulars of the event under consideration are disposed of in the same summary manner, and the critic's objections are quite as strong as the majority of those urged against the credibility of the Bible:—

“How ridiculous is the story of Cardinal Wiseman's pretending that the oath in receiving the pallium had been modified for his convenience; little less so, indeed, than his challenge to his Presbyterian antagonist to examine it, and that, too, in the very book in which the contested clause was *not* cancelled! All this is such a maze of absurdity that it is impossible to believe it. In the first place, do we not know that, throughout the whole history of the Papal power, the inflexible character, not only of its doctrines, but of its official forms and solemnities, was always maintained, and that this pertinacity was continually placing it at a disadvantage in the contest with the more flexible spirit of Protestantism? It would not renounce, in terms or words, the very things which it *did* renounce in deeds, and never could prevail upon itself to get over this unaccommodating spirit! Yet here we are to believe that, at the Cardinal's request, a certain part of a most solemn ceremonial—that of receiving the pallium—was remitted by the Pope! If it were so, the Cardinal would certainly have desired to conceal it. If he could not have done that, he would, at least, never have given so easy a triumph to his adversary as to challenge him to inspect the very copy of the pontifical, in which, after all, the oath was *not* cancelled, in order that he might be satisfied that it was! Who can believe that a cardinal of the Romish Church, Wiseman or Fool, would have been simple enough for such a step as this? It is plain that the historian himself was not unaware that such an objection would immediately suggest itself, and endeavours to guard against it,—a suspicious circumstance *in itself*,—which may serve to warn us how little we can depend on the historic character of the document.

“Again; what can be more improbable than that, when a great nation was convulsed from one end to the other, as the English are said to have been, there should have been *no* violence, not even accidentally, attending those huge and excited assemblages; a thing so natural, nay, so certain! Who can believe that only *one* man was sacrificed, and *he* on the predominant side? I have discovered, in my laborious researches on this important subject, that only seventy years before, when a cry of the same nature, but much less potent, was raised, London was filled with conflagration and bloodshed. Whoever heard, indeed, of commotion such as this is pretended to have been, and its ending in *vox et præterea nihil*?

“It is superfluous to point out the absurdity of supposing a cardinal of the Romish Church lecturing the people of England on “the claims of religious

liberty;" or so great a nation, in such a paroxysm, spending, many months in the concoction of a measure confessed to be a feeble one, and suffered to be broken with impunity!

"But, lastly, my laborious researches have led to the important discovery, that in this very year of pretended hot commotion, England—in peace with all the world, profound peace within, and profound peace without—celebrated a sort of jubilee of the nations, in a vast building of glass, (wonderful for those times,) called the Great Exhibition, to which every country had contributed specimens of the comparatively rude manufactures of that rude age! London was filled with foreigners from all parts of the earth; the whole kingdom was in a commotion, indeed, but a commotion of hospitable festivity, in which it shook hands with all the world! This is a piece of positive evidence which ought to settle the whole matter. In short, the external and internal evidence alike warrants us in rejecting this absurd story as utterly incredible."—Pp. 355, 357.

Thus, with great plausibility, the case is made out; and on the assumption that probabilities will justify conclusions, like those to which Strauss conducts his readers in his *Leben Jesu*, it is shown that any fact of history may be enveloped in fog—questioned, doubted, disproved; nay, by an ingenious sophist, every event of past ages, and not of the distant past only, may be plausibly argued into myth, or allegory, or sheer fiction. Dr. Whately, in his "*Historic Doubts*," has done this with reference to the wonderful career of Napoleon Bonaparte; by his countryman, Wolfgang Menzel, Strauss himself has been demonstrated to be an imaginary being; and, still more recently, an ingenious Englishman has disproved the historical character of Sir Robert Peel, and shown, by "a commanding probability," that the story of the agitation and repeal of the corn-laws can be nothing more than a cunningly-devised fable.

But it is time to take our leave of this instructive and entertaining volume. From our copious extracts, the reader will be enabled to form a tolerably correct estimate of "the Eclipse of Faith,"—of its design and scope, and of the author's skill and critical acumen. We have necessarily omitted even an allusion to many of the minor topics which are touched upon in the course of the volume, including several ingenious digressions, thrown in as episodes, which, while they tend to the furtherance of the author's main design, break the monotony of continuous argumentation, and give increased vivacity to his pages without impairing their strength. We close this article with a brief account of one of the most amusing of these sallies. It is entitled "The Blank Bible," being the relation of a dream, suggested evidently by a remark of Foster, in his Introduction to Doddridge's "Rise and Progress." Our author is indebted, however, only for the hint. The subject-matter of the dream—that in one night, by some miraculous agency, every page of every Bible in the world was obliterated; the consequences thence resulting,

and the effects thereby produced, are entirely his own, and are related with a simplicity and beauty that remind us of the best papers in the Essays of Addison. When, according to the vision, the terrible truth became public, that every syllable of Sacred Writ had been taken away, every copy of the Bible reduced to blank paper, and every quotation from it in every other volume sponged out, a wide field is opened for imagining the effects of this calamity upon the varieties of human character. One stout sceptic (we cannot help admiring his consistency) denied that any miracle had been wrought; and although piles of blank Bibles were brought for his inspection, he would sooner believe that the whole world was leagued against him than "credit any such nonsense." Nay, he insisted that they should show him, not one of these blank books, "which could not impose upon an owl," but *one of the very blank Bibles themselves*; that is, a Bible containing every syllable of the Old and New Testament, (for how else could he be satisfied that it was a Bible?) *and at the same time perfectly blank*; else, says he, "I will not believe." The founders of "the absolute religion," with their disciples, were at first disposed to felicitate themselves and the world upon the event. It was a mercy, rather than a judgment; and now, at length, their ardent hopes were to be realized, and mankind delivered from that *Bibliolatry* which had been for so many ages a yoke of bondage. But, alas! on looking into their own "book-revelations," the pages of Messrs. Newman and Parker, they were found to be shockingly mutilated. Those ingenious gentlemen themselves were not aware for how many of their sentiments, and how much of their very phraseology, they had been indebted to the Sacred Scriptures; and now that everything they had borrowed was reclaimed, their books presented nothing but unintelligible jargon, and were rather more worthless than so much blank paper.

The Papists rejoiced at the event. They regarded it as an interposition of Heaven in favour of "the true Church," and invited the entire Protestant world to bow to the sovereign Pontiff, who, says the dreamer, "they truly alleged could decide all knotty points quite as well without the word of God as with it." It was urged that the writings of "the Fathers," upon which so much dependence is placed for the maintenance of tradition, were sadly mutilated by the expurgation of all their Scriptural quotations. This, however, was decided by the Jesuits to be of little consequence. It was thought, indeed, that many of the Fathers were rather improved by these omissions; and those who delighted in their perusal found them "quite as intelligible, and not less edifying than they did before."

The attempt, on the part of learned divines of all religious denominations, to reconstruct the Bible from memory, is admirably depicted. There was, on the part of all, an earnest and honest desire to make the Scriptures just what they were before this terrible visitation. But their memories differed, and led them into the strangest wranglings and disputations:—

“A certain Quaker had an impression that the words instituting the Eucharist were preceded by a qualifying expression: ‘And Jesus said to the twelve, Do this in remembrance of me;’ while he could not exactly recollect whether or not the formula of ‘Baptism’ was expressed in the general terms some maintained it was. Several Unitarians had a clear recollection that in several places the authority of MSS, as estimated in Griesbach’s Recension, was decidedly against the common reading; while the Trinitarians maintained that Griesbach’s Recension in those instances had left that reading undisturbed. An Episcopalian began to have his doubts whether the usage in favour of the interchange of the words ‘Bishop’ and ‘Presbyter’ was so uniform as the Presbyterian and Independent maintained, and whether there was not a passage in which Timothy and Titus were expressly called ‘Bishops.’ The Presbyterian and Independent had similar biases; and one gentleman, who was a strenuous advocate of the system of the latter, enforced one equivocal remembrance, by saying he could, as it were, distinctly see the very spot on the page before his mind’s eye. Such tricks will imagination play with the memory, where preconception plays tricks with the imagination! In like manner it was seen that, while the Calvinist was very distinct in his recollection of the ninth chapter of Romans, his memory was very faint as respects the exact wording of some of the verses in the Epistle of James; and though the Arminian had a most vivacious impression of all those passages which spake of the claims of the law, he was in some doubt whether the Apostle Paul’s sentiments respecting human depravity, and justification by faith alone, had not been a little exaggerated. In short, it very clearly appeared that *tradition* was no safe guide; that if, even when she was hardly a month old, she could play such freaks with the memories of honest people, there was but a sorry prospect of the secure transmission of truth for eighteen hundred years. From each man’s memory seemed to glide something or other which he was not inclined to retain there, and each seemed to substitute in its stead something that he liked better.”—Pp. 241, 242.

It would not be difficult to point out defects and blemishes in this instructive volume. There is, occasionally, a slovenly and ungrammatical sentence. Not unfrequently we meet with an uncouth expression and phraseology unpleasant to the fastidious ear. Were the work constructed on any other plan, we should incline to dissent from some of the positions taken; and more stress than it is fairly entitled to, is now and then laid upon an argument. There is, moreover, a lack of courtesy toward his opponents, of which we think the writer would not have been guilty had he been preparing an argumentative treatise upon the subjects discussed. That he was not doing this, and by no means intended to refute logically all the objections brought against divine revelation, is a sufficient answer to the critical cavils to which we have adverted. To have made his

interlocutors always speak with rhetorical propriety and strict logical accuracy,—to have cramped them with the conventional usages of courteous theological disputants,—would have marred the life-like lineaments with which they are drawn. The work, as it is, successfully carries out the design of the author. It is a piquant, witty, and, in our judgment, triumphant exposure of many infidel sophistries, and a common-sense refutation of the more popular, and therefore the more mischievous.

For ourselves, (but this is a mere matter of taste,) we could have spared the occasional and rather occult allusions to Harrington's heart-lacerations in his early adventures with the other sex. Our author might have thrown a little more light upon the death-bed of his hero.

ART. II.—PORT ROYAL.

Select Memoirs of Port Royal; to which are appended, Tour to Alet, Visit to Port Royal, Gift of an Abbess, Biographical Notes, &c. By M. A. SCHIMMELPENNINGK. Hamilton: Adams & Co. London. 1835.

"I do feel that strength of affection that makes me wish the whole world to know what those persons really were," writes Nicolas Fontaine, of the worthies of Port Royal. A similar feeling now leads us to speak of a book which has become so rare as to be almost unattainable at the present time. It is, moreover, a work well calculated to widen our charity, and extend the boundaries of our Christian sympathy; for it furnishes another proof that true religion may "glimmer through many superstitions," and that the deepest piety is everywhere essentially the same.

The monastery of Port Royal was the nursery of spiritual devotion, as well as of profound and elegant scholarship. In the great cloud of witnesses for the truth in that seat of hallowed learning, we recognise a genuine piety that is identical, whether it be found in the cloister, the chapel, or the cathedral. In all essential points the Port Royalists were really Protestants in the Papal communion. They obeyed the dictates of the Bible when they were at variance with the voice of their priests, and became victims for their faith rather than swerve an iota from what they believed gospel truth to require. The Scriptures were unceasingly studied by them, their reliance for salvation was upon Christ alone, and the ritual of their Church was esteemed of less account than the testimony of a good conscience before God. Their inward devotion, unlike that of other orders in

their Church, was extensively practical. There was no unnatural divorce between their religious and secular affairs. They relieved the poor, nursed the sick, and applied themselves to the education of the young. The recluses of Port Royal wore no peculiar dress, were bound by no religious vows. They studied and practised law, medicine, and surgery. Their writings fixed the French language. "They formed," writes one, not himself a Christian, "a society of learned men of fine taste and sound philosophy. Alike occupied on sacred and profane writings, they edified, while they enlightened the world."

The volumes before us open with a necrology of the Abbe de St. Cyran and Cornelius Jansenius, two persons intimately connected with the history of Port Royal. The Abbe de St. Cyran, the devoted friend, and, until imprisoned in the Bastille by Cardinal Richelieu, the director of Port Royal, was descended from one of the most illustrious families of France. Its different branches are minutely detailed by his biographer, but we pass over adventitious circumstances in the contemplation of his elevated and most lovely character. Following the memoirs of St. Cyran, are those of his twin-brother in spirit, Cornelius Jansenius, afterwards Bishop of Ypres. These two persons were, for a time, joint-labourers in the compilation of the system of doctrine denominated Jansenism; although Cornelius Jansenius always affirmed that the system, so far from originating with himself, was a condensed statement of the opinions of St. Augustine and other fathers of the Christian Church. This work, when published, awoke the bitter hostility of the Jesuits, and at length caused the utter extinction of Port Royal, an institution which had long stood amidst the spiritual darkness of France like a lone star in the evening sky.

Jansenius and St. Cyran had both studied in the University of Louvain. At the expiration of his course, Jansenius returned to Holland, his native country; but soon after, in consequence of losing his health, through unintermitting study, he was advised to seek a milder climate, and went back to France in 1604. At Bayonne he was cherished with liberal hospitality in the princely mansion of his friend, where they prosecuted their literary labours so diligently as hardly to allow themselves necessary food and repose. The frequent warning of St. Cyran's mother, "I am really afraid, my dear son, you will kill your good Fleming with so much study," was always spoken in vain.

Jansenius toiled twenty years over the ponderous volumes of St. Augustine, and died with the plague on the very day that he completed his onerous task. "As lightning he shone, and was extinct.

The Church reaps the fruit of his labours on earth, whilst he enjoys their full reward in heaven," says his beautiful epitaph.

It is delightful to linger over the memoirs of two such heavenly spirits as St. Cyran and his friend; men truly

"Spotless in life, and eloquent as wise."

Both of them appeared to walk through the world with the voice of God speaking to their souls, and the songs of his angels sounding in their ears. In their perpetual communion with the Father of lights, they remind us of what we have heard of the pilgrim of the desert, who, through the tension caused by its heat and dryness, often listens with trembling wonder to the familiar melodies of his far-off home.

Of Jansenism, the system so abhorred and denounced by the Jesuits, and defended to the death by the Port Royalists, we will merely give Mrs. Schimmelpenninck's unscholarly definition, leaving it to the casuist and the scholar to decide upon its correctness.

"Jansenism," she says, "is in doctrine the Calvinism, and in practice the Methodism of the Catholic Church. Both the Genevese reformer and the Bishop of Ypres derived their sentiments from the same source. Both ascribed their systems to St. Augustine, though both received it under different modifications. Again, both the disciples of Jansenius and the most strict orders of modern dissenters used to be distinguished for their complete renunciation of the world under the three grand branches as described by St. John—the lust of the flesh, the lust of the world, and the pride of life. Both have been remarkable for being in prayer, in watchings, and in fastings oft."—Vol. i, p. 7.

The monastery of Port Royal was founded in 1204 by Matilde de Garlande, the wife of a younger son of the house of Montmorenci. It stood six leagues from Paris, in a wooded valley, watered by a river, which was the outlet of a pellucid lake, lying in its bosom. The surrounding landscape was rich in the varied beauty of forests, mountains, hills, and pastoral fields. For a time the institution fulfilled the pious designs of its owner, and became an instrument of good to the surrounding country. But, "like the generality of religious houses of the same order, it exhibited towards the close of the sixteenth century a lamentable degree of relaxation. Self-indulgence had banished all regularity, and a worldly spirit influenced the whole community."

The Abbess died at this juncture, and, according to the abuse of the times when mere children were appointed to ecclesiastical offices, in order to insure the revenues to their family, Marie Angélique, a daughter of the distinguished house of Arnauld, became Abbess of Port Royal, at the age of ten years. Little could it have been supposed that the child thus iniquitously elected was to lay the founda-

tion of the future purity and usefulness of the monastery. The nuns, already nearly freed from constraint, rejoiced in the expectation of still greater freedom under their child abbess. She at first seemed entirely intent upon the gratification of her own tastes, which, however, were far from being of a frivolous nature. It was remarked that even her recreations exhibited marks of a vigorous and powerful mind. Her favourite reading at that time was Plutarch's *Lives*, a book, by the way, which had great influence in forming the character of her noted country-woman, Madame Roland. M. Angélique's first religious convictions were awakened by the preaching of a travelling Capuchin friar. By some, this man is said to have been an irreligious person, unmindful of his ecclesiastical obligations, who preached pointedly and spiritually at Port Royal because ignorant of the true character of the nuns. But another version of the story is, that the Capuchin was a truly converted man, who, from having become disgusted with the errors of his Church, endeavoured to emancipate himself from its shackles, and therefore incurred its obloquy. Be this as it may, from the hour M. Angélique listened to his discourse, she resolved upon a thorough reform in herself and the monastery. An illness of several months' duration deepened her religious views, and the study of the Holy Scriptures, with prayer and meditation, enlightened and confirmed them. Immediately upon her recovery she commenced the execution of her determination in the monastery. She met with violent opposition from the nuns, as well as from other sources; but she never wavered, and her gentleness and prudence were not inferior to her resolution. In a few years from that time the whole character of the monastery had changed. In place of its former laxity and worldliness, "the whole community presented a pattern of piety, charity, self-denial, regularity, and every good work." Yet all this was not accomplished without the most painful sacrifice of feeling on the part of the young Abbess. At one time she was very near alienating her whole family from her by her fidelity to what she considered her duty. But, eventually, she had the happiness of seeing them shining with piety akin to her own, and coadjutors with her in every good work.

And now the fame of Port Royal spread over France. She, who had raised it to its present elevation, was solicited to visit and reform other religious houses. An order to that effect reached her from the General of Cîteaux. With this she, of course, complied. Among other institutions, she visited the monastery of Maubisson. Its haughty Abbess was sister of the beautiful Gabrielle d'Étrees, mistress of Henry IV. She found her own determined spirit met by one equally indomitable. After many ludicrous and exciting scenes

had occurred in the endeavour to force Madame d'Etrees to give up her right of possession, the holy father became convinced that carnal weapons alone would avail in his struggle with the persevering and imperious lady. He sent a company of archers to expel her from the monastery. The nuns, who at first were devoted to the interests of Madame d'Etrees, and greatly prejudiced against M. Angélique were soon won over by her heavenly sweetness, and the institution was radically reformed.

The celebrity of Port Royal continued to increase. The building which had been originally intended for twelve nuns, now numbered eighty. Perhaps in her care for the spiritual wants of her family, Angélique may, in some measure, have overlooked their physical necessities. Disease originated from the crowded state of the house, and the want of drainage to the lake. Many of the nuns died, and it became evident that another habitation must be provided. This was furnished by the munificence of Madame Arnauld, the mother of the Abbess. She purchased a spacious house with princely gardens, and presented it to the monastery. Henceforth the two houses, known by the appellations of Port Royal de Paris and Port Royal des Champs, formed one abbey.

In 1625 the removal of the nuns to their new habitation took place. In the same year M. Angélique, less anxious for self-aggrandizement than for the prosperity of the monastery, obtained a royal grant that the abbess should, in future, be elected triennially by the nuns, instead of being chosen for life by the king.

M. Angélique Arnauld was the worthy scion of a noble stock. Greatness and goodness seemed to be almost heir-looms in her family. Madame Arnauld was herself the daughter of the celebrated Advocate-General, M. Marion. Six daughters, distinguished for their superior mental endowments, as well as their great piety, took the veil at Port Royal. The qualities of the Christian, the scholar, and the gentleman, were finely blended in the character of the eldest son, M. Arnauld d'Andilly. The second son, M. Henry Arnauld, Bishop of Angers, was esteemed one of the most pious prelates in France. It was said of him that an infallible claim to his good offices was to use him ill. A friend, who feared that his health would be injured by incessant attention to the duties of his diocese, besought him to rest one day in the week. "I have no objection," he replied, "provided you find one day in which I am not bishop."

While at Maubisson, M. Angélique became acquainted with Francis de Sales, and introduced him to her family. How potent is the influence of one heavenly spirit! Through his instrumentality the

religious character of the Arnaulds was raised to a level with their intellectual endowments. Several years after the family made another valuable acquaintance in the Abbe St. Cyran.

"The effects which these excellent men produced on the Arnauld family were exactly those which might be expected from the difference of their characters. From their intimacy with St. Francis, they had rather received deep religious impressions than acquired clear religious views. Many years had elapsed since his death, and, at the time of their acquaintance, the younger part of this numerous family were quite children. Hence they had been rather distinguished for warm devotional feelings, a respect for piety, and a horror of immorality, than for a distinct light that enabled them at once to enter upon a religious course of life, and steadily to pursue it. Their intimacy with M. de St. Cyran exactly supplied that which had been wanting. He became the means not only of awakening, but also of enlightening their consciences. He clearly pointed out to them the grand essentials of Christian doctrine. From thence emanated a clear light which distinctly showed the path of Christian practice. The pious impressions of this excellent family had lived unquenched amidst the evil contagion of the world. What might be expected when placed under the immediate influence of two such powerful characters as M. Angélique and the Abbe de St. Cyran?"—Vol. i, pp. 145-6.

We have dwelt thus largely upon the character of the Arnauld family, because it is so closely interwoven with the history of Port Royal.

In the year 1638 a number of young men, alike distinguished for birth and talents, resolved to give themselves up exclusively to a life of study, of charity, and devotion. Though retired from the great world, they had yet no idea of dwelling in cloistered privacy. Their object was to benefit others as well as themselves, and from their retirement emanated a light to which "literary Europe will owe perpetual obligations." This community numbered the illustrious names of the Arnaulds, Sacy, Pascal, and Tillemont. Le Maitre resigned the honour of being Conseiller d'Etat, which his uncommon merit had obtained him at twenty-eight years of age, to unite himself with them. The recluses took possession of the house at Port Royal des Champs, which the nuns had vacated. They found it a picture of wild desolation. The gardens were choked with weeds, the avenues closed with underwood, and the lake become a noxious marsh. But the hand of industry soon restored the place to its former neat and flourishing condition, "and the walls of Port Royal arose from the ground amidst hymns of prayer and shouts of praise." Here were established schools, whose influence extended over France. The Port Royal Greek and Latin Grammars, the Greek Primitives, the Elements of Logic and Geometry, soon became known throughout Europe. "*Ils sont marqués au coin de Port Royal*," became the fashionable phrase of literary commendation. It was this learned community which, says Gibbon, "con-

tributed so much to establish in France a taste for just reasoning, simplicity of style, and philosophical method." Here Racine was educated; and here, when a boy at school, conceived some of his noblest tragedies. So dear did the valley become to him, that he desired to be buried in its cemetery, at the feet of his master Hamon. Here the great Pascal set down those thoughts that the exasperated Jesuits pronounced "*les menteurs immortelles*." The jealousy of the Jesuits was powerfully excited. Their writers had hitherto enjoyed great celebrity. But they were now surpassed in every respect by the Port Royalists, who united to classic elegance of style and great learning a glowing piety that warmed the hearts of their readers. The total extinction of the community was resolved upon by the Jesuits.

After the nuns of Port Royal had resided ten years in their new habitation, their numbers had so greatly increased, that another became necessary. They therefore reclaimed their former abode, which the recluses hastened to put in proper order for them. On the morning that the nuns arrived, with M. Angélique at their head, they left the monastery for their new abode. A stone farm-house, which stood on the brow of a hill, and commanded a view of the valley and the adjacent country, had been converted into a residence for them. From this time the nuns and recluses formed one community, although dwelling apart, and never meeting even at church, without a grate between them. A spirit of fervent piety pervaded both establishments, "and," says their biographer, "nothing ever approached to the complete and entire disinterestedness that characterized Port Royal." M. Angélique imparted her own tone of feeling to the monastery. The nuns learned from her to practise strict self-denial and frugality, while "the revenues of the convent were devoted to acts of generosity such as the most enlarged mind alone could have devised."

"The admirable Abbess truly had her affections set on things above. Her peace was therefore never disturbed by temporal misfortunes, nor her desires excited by merely temporal goods. She might be eminently said to be wholly void of that covetousness which is idolatry. Her soul being fixed on God, the fluctuations of all created good never shook the foundation of her peace. The spirit of piety and disinterestedness produced that perfect tranquillity of mind which M. Angélique always manifested under all the accidents which befell the affairs of Port Royal."—Vol. i, p. 166.

From the numerous anecdotes related to illustrate these qualities of her character, we transcribe the following:—

"One day Le Petit Port Royal, a farm belonging to the monastery, took fire. Besides the buildings, barns, stables, hay-racks, wool-stacks, wine-presses, all the stores were completely consumed, all the cattle were destroyed, with five

horses, and all the linen. . . . M. Arnauld was desired to inform his sister of this circumstance with discretion, lest the heavy loss might too deeply afflict her. She heard him with the utmost tranquillity, and answered: 'God be praised that this is all! Come, brother, let us go and offer fervent thanks to God that no lives are lost!'

"On another occasion, when the flocks were ravaged by the wolf, she said, 'I was going to send to the fair to buy more sheep, but God, no doubt, finds we have too many, since he sent this wolf to destroy them. We must not, however, refuse ourselves some pleasure, to counterbalance the accident. Let all the wounded sheep be killed, and distributed among the peasants, that there may not be to-morrow one poor peasant's house in all the villages round Port Royal where the spit does not turn.'—Vol. i, p. 167.

"When the house was in great distress from the largeness of her benefactions, M. Angélique has been known to part with all the church plate of both houses, even to the very silver lamps and candlesticks; nay, she has even taken the very napkins off the altar to make clothes, or bind up the wounds of the poor. She was one of a grand and comprehensive mind, who knew when to sacrifice the appendages of religious profession to the immutable principles of religion itself."—Vol. i, p. 174.

M. Angélique had abundant means to gratify the wishes of her noble heart. Her family, who were such munificent patrons of Port Royal, were content to have her use their bounty according to her own desire. From other sources also a prodigious influx of wealth now poured into the monastery. All of it, however, continued to be used for the good of others.

The Abbess was engaged in building when the War of the Princes commenced. She would not cease, although the expense became enormous, because it afforded employment to the poor. A gentleman passing through the valley, afterwards remarked to a servant whom he accidentally met: "These buildings, I understand, have cost double the sum they ought." "Sir," answered the man, "the price did not seem great to the nuns, since every stone was accompanied by the benediction of the whole country."

The recluses were not inferior to the nuns in their spirit of piety and generosity. Their charitable exertions made them a blessing to the neighbourhood, and it may be said of the community generally, as well as of the Arnauld family alone, that they presented "a sublime union of learning with religion."

In 1643 the war of the Fronde commenced. It levelled many religious houses to the ground, and the nuns of Port Royal feared a similar result for their own. They took refuge in their house at Paris. The recluses assumed the military garb, and prepared to defend Port Royal des Champs, without consulting the venerable M. de Saci. When a proper opportunity occurred, this excellent man gently, but faithfully, reproved their want of faith, and persuaded them to lay aside weapons which he considered quite unbefitting the soldiers of the cross. His words diffused a feeling of increased con-

fidence in God in the breasts of the recluses; and the nuns, at his suggestion, returned, to be ministering angels to the suffering poor. Crowds sought the shelter of the monastery, and it supplied hundreds with food. To its bitterest enemies it extended the same treatment that it gave its most zealous friends.

A letter which M. Angélique at this time wrote to one of her friends is probably well known; but it affords so striking a picture of the state of the monastery that we cannot forbear extracting it:—

“We are all occupied in contriving soups and pottage for the poor. This is, indeed, an awful time. Our gentlemen, as they were taking their rounds yesterday, found two persons starved to death, and met with a young woman who was on the very point of killing her child because she had no food for it. All is pillaged around; corn-fields are trampled over by the cavalry in the presence of their starving owners; despair has seized all whose confidence is not in God; no one will any longer plough or dig; there are no horses indeed left for the former, nor if there were, is any person certain of reaping what he sows; all is stolen.

“Perhaps I shall not be able to send you a letter to-morrow, for all our horses and asses are dead with hunger. O! how little do princes know the detailed horrors of war! All the provender of the beasts we were obliged to divide between ourselves and the starving poor. We concealed as many of the peasants and the cattle as we could in our monastery, to save them from being murdered and losing all their substance. Our dormitory and our chapter-house were full of horses. We were almost stifled by being pent up with these beasts, but we could not resist the piercing lamentations of the starving and heart-broken poor. In the cellar were concealed forty cows. Our court-yards and out-houses are stuffed full of fowls, turkeys, geese, ducks, and asses. The church is piled up to the ceiling with corn, oats, peas, and beans, and with caldrons, kettles, and other things belonging to the cottagers. Every time we enter the chapel, we are obliged to scramble over sacks of flour, and all sorts of rubbish. The floor of the choir is entirely covered with the libraries of our gentlemen. Thirty or forty nuns from other convents have here fled for refuge. Our laundry is thronged with the aged, the maimed, the halt, the blind, and infants. We have torn up all our rags and linen clothes to dress their sores. We have no more, and are at our wits' end. The cold is excessive, and all our firewood is consumed. We dare not go in the woods any more, as they are full of marauding parties. We hear that the Abbey of St. Cyran has been burnt and pillaged. Our own is threatened with an attack every day. The cold weather alone preserves us from pestilence. We are so closely crowded that deaths happen continually. God is, however, with us, and we are at peace.”

—Vol. i, pp. 199, 200.

This affliction passed to be succeeded by a heavier one. M. Arnauld issued a work which contained the sentiment that a priest should never, upon any occasion, give absolution to a person who did not evince heartfelt repentance for sin, by entire cessation from it. This was entirely opposed to the conduct of the Jesuits. They had guided the consciences of men in power and winked at evil, that they might secure the patronage of the great. The book incurred their displeasure, and they had always been averse to its author. The Arnaulds had long been thorns in the sides of the Jesuits. The

maternal grandfather of M. Angélique, who was the most powerful advocate of his day, had been employed by the University of Paris in a suit against them. By gaining this, he also gained the deadly animosity of the defeated. Now they branded the work of his descendant with heresy. They appealed to the Sorbonne, the Gallican clergy, and even to Rome itself against the Port Royalists. They continued their unrelenting persecution year after year, and at length obtained an order from government to abolish the Port Royal schools, and expel the nuns and recluses from their retirement. The sentence was about being put in force, when it was arrested by a singular incident which remains a mystery to this day. The report of a wonderful cure wrought upon the niece of Pascal was the means, at that time, of warding off the blow that threatened the ruin of Port Royal.

But the Jesuits would not be foiled entirely. They were determined to compass the destruction of the Jansenists, and in 1660 procured a formulary entirely at variance with their religious views, which the clergy, school-masters, and members of religious houses throughout the kingdom were required to sign. Four bishops, and all the Jansenists, at once refused to do this. Their refusal was the commencement of immediate persecution. For five-and-twenty years the Jesuits had harassed the Port Royalists in every way within their power. What might not be feared now that they were fully supported by the authority of the government! The directors and confessors of Port Royal des Champs were banished from their beloved valley, and their schools broken up and scattered. M. de Sacy, M. Arnauld, M. de St. Marthe, and M. Singlin fled for the preservation of their lives. Both houses were visited by a troop of horse, headed by a lieutenant of the police.

Intelligence of what was passing came to M. Angélique as she lay upon what appeared to be her dying bed. While her mind remained as clear, and her faith as firm as it had ever been, her health had sunk under the load of care and anxiety which the enemies of Port Royal had heaped upon her. Yet ill as she was, when informed that violent measures had been resorted to at Port Royal de Paris, and that her presence was especially needed, she rose from her bed and prepared herself to be transported thither on a litter, after pronouncing a benediction upon the nuns, and exhorting them, in the most tender and solemn manner, to continue faithful to their convictions of duty. In parting with her beloved brother, M. Arnauld d'Andilly, he spoke of the perfect courage that possessed his soul. His sister replied: "My dear brother, let us be humble; let us remember that if humility without constancy is vilely casting

away the shield of faith, courage without deep self-distrust is that ungodly presumption and pride that cometh before a fall." She had proceeded a few miles on her way when she was met by an ecclesiastic, who informed her that all the scholars were just about being expelled from Port Royal de Paris. "Well, sir," replied the aged saint, "under every circumstance God be praised! I will request the favour of you to go on and inform my sisters whom I have just left of the intelligence; and tell them not to let their minds be troubled, but to have their hearts fixed, trusting in the Lord." She found the monastery guarded by soldiers, and could only gain an entrance through files of archers. The trembling nuns gathered around their venerable mother, who, upborne by a heavenly strength, spoke words of courage and consolation to them. Yet, although her exterior was calm, her heart was riven by the separation from those young creatures, whom she had hoped to train for heaven. At length, as she was about bidding farewell to three young ladies of high birth, whom she had educated from their cradles, and made them all her heart desired, her courage appeared to fail. But she knelt and prayed audibly, and then, with an unflinching step and tranquil countenance, conducted them to the door.

The house was broken up, and, two days after the cruel enterprise was accomplished, M. Angélique writes: "At length our good Lord has seen fit to deprive us of all. Father, sisters, disciples, children, all are gone! Blessed be the name of the Lord! Grief and sorrow, indeed, abound; but patience, and resignation to His holy will, abound yet more." To one of the nuns she says: "Do not enter into a relation of what is now passing, unless you are positively asked. Listen with kindness, and answer in as few words as possible—pride, vanity, and self-love mingle in every thing; and since God has united us by his Holy Spirit of divine love, we must serve him in humility. The most valuable fruit of persecution is, a real humiliation, and humility is best preserved in silence." Soon after this, as M. Angélique was fervently engaged in prayer for those children of her love from whom she had been so cruelly separated, she sank down in a fainting-fit, and was laid upon her bed never to rise from it more. During this last illness her bodily anguish was dreadful: "yet, as she slowly descended into the valley of the shadow of death, and, with a footstep that never slid, passed through its fearful gulfs unhurt, though the adversary of her soul was allowed to thrust sore at her, her faith was never suffered to fail." "As the veil of flesh decayed," the eminent loveliness and strength, the humility and elevation of her character, became still more striking. Her spiritual directors were banished; she stood without any human aid, but she

found the Great High Priest sufficient in her awful crisis. True, it was very painful to her to be deprived of the offices of M. Singlin, the friend who had been her spiritual director for twenty years; yet upon this subject, with her usual serenity and submission, she said: "It is the will of God, and that is sufficient. I have always esteemed M. Singlin's directions more than any other blessing, and I do so still. But I have never put men in the place of God. He can have nothing but what he receives from God, and God gives him nothing for us but when in the order of his providence he is appointed to be with us. Let us go straight to the fountain, which is God himself. He never fails those who put their trust in him."

M. Angélique one day observed a nun putting down some of her expressions upon paper. She commanded her to burn it, saying: "It is a pity not to content ourselves with the word of eternal life itself, which contains truth without any mixture of error; and when I see you, my sisters, more touched and affected by words spoken by a miserable sinner, like myself, than by the essential truths of which the gospel is full, and which have converted so many souls to God, and on which we cannot meditate enough, I consider it as a snare and temptation of the adversary of your souls."

Every circumstance combined to add affliction to M. Angélique's dying moments. Fresh disquietudes harassed the monastery. Masons and carpenters came to wall up the doors, and the noise of their hammers was heard instead of "prayer in stillness and the chanted rite." Word came that the nuns were to be immediately dispersed. Parties of archers were in pursuit of their confessors to drag them to the Bastile. The dying chamber of the Abbess was invaded by a band of police, and by two ecclesiastics, who came upon an inquisitorial visit. Still, she lay under the wings of the cherubim with God's peace possessing her soul, calm and undisturbed. "How do you feel?" asked one of the officers. "Like a person who is dying." "Do you speak of death thus calmly? Does it not amaze you?" he asked. "No," replied M. Angélique; "I only came into the world to prepare for this hour."

The expiring saint then remained with her hands clasped and her eyes closed. The nuns gathered around her bed and wept in silent anguish. Nothing broke the solemn stillness but the clashing arms and heavy footsteps of the guard, and the hammers of the workmen—unmeet sounds for such an hour! Hitherto, the humblest domestic in the monastery had, in similar circumstances, been strengthened and uplifted by the rites of his Church; but she, who was its glory and its pride, was passing away without human support. She needed it not, strong as she was in the Lord and in the power

of his might. At length one of the nuns, unable to command herself longer, burst into an indignant remonstrance at the treatment of her Superior. She opened her eyes, and, fixing them on the nun, rejoined: "My daughter, say not so. The intention of their hearts is known to God alone, their God and our God. Let us rather join in prayer to the throne of mercy for them and for us." But now those around united in lamentations at her forsaken condition, while she whispered them: "My daughters, I never placed any man in the stead of God. Blessed, then, be his goodness! I have not now man, but God to depend upon. His mercies never fail those who believe, and who place their reliance and trust on his name." But even yet, M. Angélique's work was not quite finished. She roused herself from the stupor of death to dictate a vindication of Port Royal to the Queen Mother. Almost every line was interrupted by fainting-fits and convulsions, yet it was so eloquently expressed that the Court pronounced it the joint work of Arnauld, Nicole, and De Sacy.

On the 6th of August, 1661, her spirit departed to her Saviour, and the passing bell conveyed the sad intelligence to M. de Sacy and M. Singlin as they lay concealed in the neighbourhood. M. Agnes, the excellent sister of Mère Angélique, succeeded her as abbess. Under her jurisdiction a new affliction befell the monastery, in some respects even more trying than any former one. Assailed and persecuted as the nuns had been previous to the death of their venerable mother, they had always continued faithful and strong in love to each other. But soon after this event an ungrateful nun, who had been received into the convent from charitable motives, consented to become a tool of its enemies, and endeavoured to compass the ruin of her benefactors. She was a woman of extraordinary talents, and her professed zeal for Jansenism prevented her being suspected by the nuns. It would take too much space to dwell upon the artful intrigues of this wicked woman. Her object was personal aggrandizement; the end of her duplicity was the ruin of Port Royal. She fomented the scruples of the nuns against signing the formulary, she led them on to use expressions which she reported to the archbishop; yet so wily was she that when it was known that a traitor was among them, she, for a long time, was almost the last person suspected as such. Acting upon her suggestion to imprison some of the nuns, that the others might be terrified into obedience, the archbishop, with a long train of civil authorities, appeared at the convent. In a voice of thunder he commanded them to choose between signing the formulary or excommunication, between obedience and exile. From the room of

M. Agnes, the only surviving foundress of the reform, they were singly ushered into the presence of the archbishop. Nearly all remained firm in their refusal to violate their consciences, yet each trembled lest she alone should be the person on whose head all the wrath of the archbishop was to fall. He, finding the greater part of them remained unmoved by his threats, ordered them to the chapter-house, where he appeared before them in full pontificals, and, with a countenance flaming with wrath, pronounced them contumacious and rebellious in preferring to be guided by what they termed conscience, rather than the judgment of their superiors. The awful sentence of excommunication next came, while, overcome with grief and terror, the nuns wept in silence. The archbishop then prepared to depart, but again turned to hurl fresh anathemas upon them, and threaten them with still severer punishment. At length he left the convent, and the three succeeding days were spent in prayers, in tears, in dark forebodings by the afflicted nuns. On the fourth day the archbishop reappeared with his armed train and a large body of ecclesiastics. He summoned the nuns to a final interview. Sobbing and weeping violently, they rushed into the room of M. Agnes, and, gathering around her, besought her blessing. She pointed them to God, and then, laying her aged hands upon their heads, said: "I do, my dear children, with the heart of a mother who will never see you more, commend each and all of you to Him with whom are all benedictions." M. Agnes had just before taken a final farewell of her beloved brother, M. d'Andilly, and the relation of this event is full of touching interest. We wish we might allow ourselves to present some of the noble scenes with which this portion of the narrative abounds. The heart is made better by the exhibition of the angelic meekness and the Christlike patience of the persecuted under the unchristian treatment they received. And now the nuns who held the chief posts in the monastery were torn from their beloved shelter and sent to other convents decidedly hostile to them. There they were rigorously imprisoned, in order to terrify them into compliance with the archbishop's demands. Nuns were sent from the Convent of St. Mary, to act the part of spies and jailers to those who remained. Jesuitical ecclesiastics hovered around them with threats of eternal damnation. A guard of armed soldiers surrounded the house and filled the gardens, so that no place for exercise was left the nuns. A contagious fever broke out. Several died, and their last hours were harassed by the taunts of their persecutors. At length, out of the hundred nuns who remained, six yielded and signed the formulary. These were, however, some of the least trusted of the community, and two were imbecile. The archbishop

now proceeded to wrest the bounty of the Arnauld family from the monastery. He took possession of Port Royal de Paris, and determined to send the refractory nuns back to Port Royal des Champs, to unite them with those who had remained. The joy of the nuns was extreme when they were told of this decision. They did not know under what circumstances they were to return to the scene of their former happiness. They had passed ten months in rigorous captivity, solitary and uncheered. Each one had been led to suppose that the others had yielded and signed the formulary. Their journey was at night, under every circumstance of discomfort and indignity. M. Angélique St. Jean, the niece of the Mère Angélique, tells us of her joy, after being hurried into a carriage in the darkness of the night, there to find the venerable Mère Agnes, whom she recognised by her voice. She says: "I seemed then to have received from God a hundredfold for all we had endured. . . . How could we sufficiently thank the Good Shepherd, who, not satisfied with pouring out his life for us, had guided and watched over us during our captivity, and who had now sought us and reunited us to each other." At the convent where the carriage stopped upon the way for the three remaining nuns, the joyful tidings reached them of the firmness and noble conduct of their sister-captives, and of the approval of their five excellent bishops. The day was dawning when they all entered the carriage which was to convey them to Port Royal des Champs. They said their morning-prayer together, "when," says Angélique St. Jean, "I pulled out a little Bible, bound in one volume, which I always carry about me, and handed it to the M. Agnes, who opened it to see what God would give us." By a singular coincidence the lesson opened upon was the thirty-fourth chapter of Ezekiel, every word of which seemed applicable to their circumstances. Their carriage, with six others, now passed on to the brow of a hill, from which the spires of their "beloved Zion, so deeply mourned, so long and earnestly desired," were first descried. But their joy was damped by the forsaken appearance of the valley, and when they reached the convent they found that they had but exchanged one form of captivity for another. The entrances were guarded by creatures of the archbishop, their aged servants met them with tears, and they were soon informed that the last carriage of their train contained the Grand Vicar and another hostile ecclesiastic,

Their first act was to repair to the church, "where," says Angélique St. Jean, "we prostrated ourselves with one accord at the feet of our Good Shepherd, who had thus reassembled his dispersed sheep. He only saw the movement of each heart, and perhaps in that glad moment they were all alike. We were thirty-six of us, who,

having been redeemed from our hopeless captivity, were now returned, and about to join our company left in the house of Port Royal des Champs. Those who abode faithful at Port Royal de Paris were expected to arrive on the morrow."

They now numbered ninety-eight nuns, and their joy at their reunion was so great as almost to make them forget the loss of their earthly possessions, the domination of their enemies, and the very precarious tenure by which they held the shadow of liberty they now enjoyed. Soon after their return, they chose sister Angélique St. Jean their abbess. This noble woman, a niece of the Mère Angélique Arnauld, was worthy of her glorious ancestry. She was animated by the spirit of M. Angélique and M. Agnes, while she excelled them in brilliancy of talent and intellectual powers. She had a perfect acquaintance with Scripture, and read the Greek and Latin Fathers in their native tongues. She possessed a scientific acquaintance with natural philosophy, surgery, and medicine, besides excelling in all elegant female accomplishments. She wrote several volumes, which combine capacious information with the deepest and most solid piety. She became the abbess of Port Royal des Champs in a time of its greatest need; but, soon after her election, the convent was presented with a superb mansion, with spacious parks and gardens. The dauphin saw it one day when engaged in a hunting expedition, and remarked that he would ask it of the king; but the intrepid abbess anticipated his request, and had the building levelled with the ground, rather than have it devoted to an unworthy purpose.

The nuns were disappointed in their hope of finding a peaceful and united seclusion in their beloved and consecrated home. Every species of indignity was heaped upon them. Armed guards were stationed at their doors, and their accustomed walks in the garden forbidden them. They were deprived of their ministers, interdicted the sacraments, declared heretics and rebels. They had only the consciousness of their integrity to sustain them. Many of the nuns sank under their persecutions, and died with prayers for their enemies quivering on their lips. Christian sepulture was denied them, and their memory was heaped with obloquy. Meanwhile the recluses, who were equally obnoxious to the court party and their instigators, wandered from one hiding-place to another. M. de Singlin at length died under his sufferings, and the venerable De Saci, with his friend Fontaine, were sent to the Bastille. To this imprisonment we are indebted for De Saci's translation and comment on the Bible, which is esteemed the best extant in the French language. After several years of unmitigated persecution, a brief

of reconciliation was procured from Clement IX. by some powerful friends at court, and a brief rest was allowed to Port Royal; but in 1679 its warm friend and protectress, Madame Longueville, died, and the Jesuits were encouraged to renew their hostilities. They obtained an order from the government for the immediate and final expulsion of the recluses. Most of them afterward died in poverty and exile. M. de Saci retired to the estate of a friend, where he passed his time in writing and in spiritual duties. He still speaks from the tomb in his translation of the Bible and his letters. In these volumes his pupil, Fontaine, gives us a sketch of his life, replete with beauty. In speaking of the departure of his friend, Fontaine writes: "As Jesus was parted from his disciples on the Mount of Olives, blessing them, so did this his servant quit his spiritual children on earth in the act of praying a benediction from the same Jesus." De Saci desired to be buried at Port Royal des Champs; but the Jesuits begrudged the monastery that poor consolation. An order was issued to detain the body at Paris. His loving disciples determined that their master's last request should be fulfilled. Under inconceivable hardships, upon an intensely-cold night in January, through deep snows and driving wind, the body of the venerable saint was hurried onward to its resting-place amid the scenes so dear to him in life. Tears were shed over that placid face by all save one. His cousin, Angélique St. Jean, could not weep that he had entered into the joy of his Lord, and in twenty days she shared his joy. The very life of Port Royal seemed to perish with her. And now wave after wave passed over the monastery. Friend after friend sank into the tomb; their enemies reviled, and their revenues were torn from them.

In 1710 their final and entire destruction was resolved upon by the court party, with Madame Maintenon at its head, and their unforgiving enemies, the Jesuits. "Annihilate it! annihilate it to its very foundation!" was their constant cry. They persuaded Cardinal de Noailles, a weak and undecided prelate, who afterward bewailed his share in the transaction with tears and groans, to issue a decree for the extinction of an institution whose piety reproached their own superstition and irreligion. The cardinal's promoteur left his service rather than draw out this iniquitous writing. But there was no difficulty in finding one of less scrupulous conscience. On the morning of the 29th of October, M. Argenson, counsellor of state, entered the abbey with a train of civil and ecclesiastical officers. He immediately demanded the keys, and seized the title-deeds. After some other preliminary steps, he had the nuns convened, and read to them a decree, the purport of which was, that the king, for

the good of the state, ordered all the nuns of Port Royal des Champs to be immediately separated and dispersed in different religious houses out of the diocese of Paris. Not a word was spoken, until the Mère de St. Anastatie, a nun, on whom the mantle of her admirable predecessors had fully fallen, said she hoped they might be sent two and two, being mostly aged and infirm. She was answered, "That cannot be." She then asked how long a time would be allowed to prepare them for their journey, in weather the most inclement that had been known for the season in two centuries. The reply was, That they must set off immediately. With much difficulty, permission was granted them to remain half a quarter of an hour longer. The nuns, with their veils drawn over their faces, listened to their sentence. No tear was visible, no sob was heard. They were prepared, in the courage of faith,

"Their altars to forego, their home to quit,
Fields they had loved, and paths they daily trod."

The manner of executing the sentence was no less barbarous than the decree itself. No eye pitied them, no word of sympathy comforted them when they were thrust forth from the walls which sheltered them. At twelve o'clock carriage after carriage bore them away, while the poor of the valley bewailed their departure with loud cries and frantic gestures. The aged servants were dismissed without compensation, and only in the Hotel Dieu could find a place in which to die. The nuns were sent to convents so inimical to them, that they would not open their doors for their reception until compelled to do so by an order from the king. Yet their Christian endurance did, in many instances, turn the hearts of their persecutors, and the religion of Jesus was advanced in other convents through their means. The building was completely sacked, and then, at the instigation of that cold-hearted Pharisaical devotee, Madame Maintenon, an order was issued on the tenth of January, 1710, for its total demolition. Even when the buildings were levelled, the malice of the enemies of Port Royal was not fully satiated. They envied the pious dead the privilege of a grave amid the scenes they had loved. Their bodies were exhumed under circumstances of almost incredible barbarity. Hacked, hewed, and mangled, they were thrown into a common pit in the church of St. Lambert. The circumstances attending this atrocious proceeding are too horrible to be dwelt upon. Soon after the exhumation, the walls of the church at Port Royal, the only one of its buildings which had been spared, were demolished by gunpowder, and nothing remained of the monastery but a heap of stones. The light of France was quenched when an institution

so famed for its love of the Holy Scriptures was destroyed. It had enjoined their study upon its disciples, and most of the nuns had learned the dead languages, to enable them to read the Bible in the original. They not only read it, but were advised to commit large portions of it to memory. When it was daily read to them they listened to it devoutly kneeling, "in order," says the venerable abbess who drew up the constitution, "that they may early be taught to pray for the Spirit of God, without which we can never understand the word of God."

Among the dispersed nuns, one most heroic woman particularly claims a notice. It is the Mère Anastatie, who was prioress of the convent at the time of its dispersion. She was chosen as her successor by the former abbess when she lay upon her dying bed. It was in a season of darkness. The storm that prostrated Port Royal was brooding heavily over it. The sister Anastatie entreated her superior to spare her youth and inexperience the insupportable load. The abbess's only reply was, as she laid her cold and moistened hands upon the head of the trembling nun, "His grace is sufficient for thee. Be thou faithful unto death, and He will give thee a crown of life." After the elevation thus forced upon her, she proved herself a worthy successor of the noble women who had preceded her in office. We shall certainly be excused for giving the subsequent history of the Mère Anastatie in the words of her biographer:—

"The place of her exile was Blois. For six years she suffered unabated persecution. Debarred from any access to her friends, either personally or by letter, she was closely immured in a solitary cell, except at the hour of attending divine service; nor had she either the indulgence of fire, nor the requisites of winter clothing. By the abbess and nuns of the convent in which she was placed, she was treated as an obstinate and excommunicated heretic, with whom it was dangerous to associate; and by priests, bishops, and confessors, she was almost daily persecuted, threatened, and tormented, to obtain a signature which it was against her conscience to grant. Her uniform mildness astonished the one, as much as her firmness did the other. But so unconscionable and unrelenting were her persecutors, that they followed her even on her death-bed. The bishops proposed perjury to her, as the only price for which she could obtain a participation in the sacraments of the Church. 'My lord,' replied the dying prioress, 'though I value the privilege of partaking in the blessed eucharist, even more than life itself, and though it would in this tremendous hour be my greatest consolation, yet I have not the ill-understood devotion to imagine it allowable to wound the Spirit of Christ to participate in his body!' Truly, indeed, might this saint-like prioress be said to be a partaker in the spirit of her venerable predecessor, the Mère Agnes, who, on a similar occasion, had exhorted her nuns rather to forego one of the benedictions of God, than to lose the favour of the God of all benedictions. The last illness of Mère Anastatie lasted six weeks, during which the clergy on the one side, and the nuns on the other, never failed to beset her dying bed, and to persecute and torment her with every device that could suggest itself; exhausting every argument, threat, and insidious persuasion, to induce her to sign the formulary. Two days before the close of her life, the bishop, who

was as usual standing close beside her bed, exhorted her to reflect, for she would soon be in the presence of God. 'My lord,' replied the prioress, 'God is continually present with his children; it was in his light only I ever sought light; it is then because it is His word, and not merely because I have weighed it during a solitude of six years, that I assure you my decision is made. It is because it was made in His presence that it is not now to be unmade.' 'But,' continued the prelate, after an exhortation of about two hours, 'who will present you to God? It will not be the Church whom you refuse to obey, nor yet will it be myself, who only am the pastor of the sheep within her fold. What will you do when you have to appear before God, bearing the weight of your sins alone?' The dying nun paused, deeply affected; then fixing upon him her mild but steady eye, answered: 'Having made peace through the blood of the cross, my Saviour has reconciled all things unto himself in the body of his flesh, through death, to present us holy, and unblamable, and unreprouvable in his sight, if we continue in the faith grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel.' Then rising in her bed, with clasped hands and fervently uplifted eyes, she exclaimed: 'In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, and thou wilt not suffer the creature that trusts in thee to be confounded.'

"The bishop, however, still went on, calling her the scourge of the diocese, declaring she was sent there as a judgment upon them for their sins, with many other opprobrious expressions. When the prioress, having now not a day to live, found she really was to be denied the last sacraments and every mark of Christian communion, unless she consented to lend her hand to perjury, she besought them with many tears; but finding it was of no avail, she wiped her tears away, and said, 'Well, my lord, I am content to bear with resignation any deprivation my God sees fit. I am convinced that his divine grace can supply even the want of the sacraments.' The Bishop of Blois, who, having seen her deep distress, hoped to gain his point, now perceiving nothing was to be obtained, fell into a violent fury, or rather into a perfect frenzy, and in a voice of thunder declared her body should be thrown out as a carcass, and never buried in consecrated ground. 'My lord, as it pleases you,' she answered. The physician, who happened to be by, now interposed, and addressing himself with some severity to the bishop, asked him how he could possibly refuse the sacraments to a dying person on so very frivolous a pretext, and how he could himself possibly live in peace, or die in hope, while he pursued a conduct so deficient in equity, and so opposite to Christian charity and meekness. The bishop made no reply, but went away. The prioress, now knowing that she had not many hours to live, and no priest being at hand to receive her confession, assembled the whole community, consisting of the abbess and eighty nuns, all her persecutors and enemies, and in their presence made a public confession to God of all her sins. This she did with such unfeigned piety and humility, that the nuns, prejudiced as they were against her, were not only much edified, but could not refrain from tears. Indeed, when they saw her extremity, and when her serenity proved to them that it was not obstinacy, but conscience that dictated her non-compliance, they repented, and, with lamentations they could no longer suppress, bewailed her situation.

"Meanwhile the prioress, having concluded her confession, turned from every earthly thought. She begged the nuns to recite to her the Psalms, and to read to her the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters of St. John's Gospel, and the accounts of our Saviour's passion, during which she either joined in the recitation, or was occupied, as appeared by her hands and eyes, in prayer. In this manner she continued until twelve o'clock at night, when the light of the candles, shining on her countenance, showed the awful majesty of settled peace, tranquillity, and joy; and that without sigh, groan, or agony, her spirit had departed to her Lord in a deep serenity of peace and love, that made us tremble."—Vol. ii, pp. 54-58.

In an abandoned burial-ground, filled with rubbish and overgrown with nettles, was she, who had passed from earth thus brightly, laid without prayer, or any "gentle offices of grace."

Louis XIV., after signing the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, imprisoning Madame Guion, banishing the excellent Fenelon, and causing the overthrow of Port Royal, was called to render up his account in 1715. After his death, persons immured in the state prisons for their religious opinions were released, and the five nuns of Port Royal who yet survived were gathered into the Convent of the Benedictines at Malnoue. Late as this mercy came, aged, paralytic, and infirm as most of them were, they rejoiced to be permitted to spend the small remnant of their many-coloured days together. They formed a little Port Royal, with the venerable Madame de Couturier at their head, in the bosom of the institution which received them, where they edified all around them by their holy lives, and serene and peaceful deaths.

The compiler of these volumes visited the valley of Port Royal in the year 1824. Through one of the few engravings of the monastery by Mademoiselle Hortemel, which had been secreted from the Jesuits when they destroyed other plates of the same description, she was enabled to ascertain the exact situation of the abbey and adjoining buildings, although the ground on which they stood had been ploughed up and defaced. The valley had become a green expanse, over which a death-like silence brooded. The little stream, which had formerly mingled its murmurs with the chants and prayers of the *religieux*, was choked with aquatic plants. Bright flowers were waving over the remains of fallen arches and fretted stonework, and, like the remembrance of those who originally planted them, emitted a sweeter odour for being crushed and trampled on. Near a stone seat, overshadowed with aged trees, a clear stream gushed from the rocks above, which still bore the name of Angélique's Fountain. By a deeply-shaded grotto were remains of stone benches, on which it was said the nuns sat of an afternoon and sewed. A willow rose from a pile of shapeless ruins, and bent over the spot in which the superiors of the monastery were once interred. It was here, probably, that the great Arnauld wished the heart to be inurned which he, in dying, bequeathed to his beloved Port Royal. Some pilgrim to the hallowed place had scratched on one of the stones beneath, "By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept, when we remembered thee, O Zion!"

A part of Les Granges, the former abode of the recluses, still standing upon the brow of the hill, was then inhabited by one who had taste and sensibility enough to value and preserve the precious

memorials around her. She pointed out the stone table on which Arnauld wrote, and the closet in which Hamon compounded his medicines for the poor. What was then a dismantled hovel, had been once the study of Pascal; and in the yard was a well which bore his name, because he had invented the machinery and superintended its construction. From some moss-covered trees, planted by the learned D'Andilly, they ate a little of the fruit so celebrated for its size and flavour, that, when it was sent a present to Anne of Austria and Cardinal Mazarin, they used to call it "Fruit-beni."

What troops of thoughts crowd the mind while perusing these volumes! What consecration of soul was exhibited in that corrupt Church, when the Scriptures were made the rule of faith and practice! How is the soul enfranchised by their light! How precisely the same was the eminent piety of that distant age with that of our own day, resting as they do upon the same basis! The exhortations of Angélique St. Jean to the perfect and imperfect *religieuses*, seems certainly to accord with the theology of our own Church; and the deep devotion of the Port Royalists, under the encumbrances and disadvantages of Roman Catholic ceremonies, may surely shame our fainter and less active faith. Why was Port Royal, which so long stood

"A solitary spark,
When all around with midnight gloom was dark,"

at length blotted and extinguished from the earth, and France deprived of her much-needed light? Her glory might have departed from her, and she, like her sister institutions, have stood with the form of godliness yet destitute of its power—Port Royal, but living Port Royal no more; "her strength, her power, her beauty fled;" no more guided by the unadulterated word, but a slave to vain traditions. Better, far better, to lie as she does, in splintered fragments, a holy shrine, a blessed memory, an immortal heritage, to the believing soul—

"A place where leaf and flower
Of that which dies not of the sovereign dead
Shall be made holy things—where every weed
Shall have its portion of the inspiring gift
From buried greatness breathed."

ART. III.—VESTIGES OF CIVILIZATION.

Vestiges of Civilization; or, the Ætiology of History, Religious, Æsthetical, Political, and Philosophical. New-York: H. Baillière. 1851.

IN accordance with a promise given in a former number of this Review,* we propose to return to the examination of the remarkable work named at the head of this article, and to devote to the estimation of its merits and its defects, its logic and its philosophy, a larger space and more minute attention than were at that time compatible with the occasion. At the outset of our remarks we deem it proper to state, that a fuller and more leisurely examination of the book affords no reason for materially modifying the commendation already bestowed upon its ability, except so far as there may be an apparent deduction of praise in the translation of the vagueness of general and rapid criticism into the precision and more nicely-graduated language of particular appreciation. We are not disposed to be chary of our admiration where the evidences of real talent and sincerity of purpose are clear and distinct, even if we do deem them to have been unhappily exercised in a wrong channel. The cause of truth is not served by depreciating her conscious or unconscious adversaries. As far as we ourselves are concerned, we have neither dread nor abhorrence for speculative error merely as such; we entertain an unwavering faith in the maxim, *magna est veritas et prævalebit*. The errors of men of original genius and of native strength of intellect are the forlorn hope of mental progress. They achieve more for the ultimate advancement of humanity, than all the stereotyped platitudes of those who do but repeat, from mouth to mouth, and from generation to generation, the undoubted and unchallenged truisms of universal acceptance.† Before the safe road, which is to lead our steps

* January, 1852, Art. viii, p. 142.

† It is so much the fashion to censure Aristotle for his neglect of his precursors—a fashion set by Bacon—that it affords us pleasure to exonerate him from the charge, at the same time that we confirm our own position by citing from his *Metaphysics* the following memorable passage:—

“οὐ μόνον δὲ χάριν εἶχειν δίκαιον τοῦτοις ὧν ἂν τις κοινώσαιτο ταῖς δόξαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιπολαιωτέροις ἀποφνημαμένοις· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι συνεβάλοντό τι. Τὴν γὰρ ἔξιν προσέκησαν ἡμῶν. *Metaph. i. Min.*, p. 993, b. 11. It would be hypercritical to deny the authenticity of this book. The idea is developed and prettily expressed by Alexander Aphrodisiensis. *Schol. ad loc.* p. 591: ἡ γὰρ τῶν καταβεβλημένων δοξῶν εὐπορία εὑρετικωτέρους ἡμῶς τῆς ἀληθείας παρασκευάσει.”

onward, is found, it must be sought: if sought, it can be discovered only by numerous tentatives, more or less successful; and the aberrations which precede the final determination of the true path are no less essential services to humanity than the prosecution of the true route which may be at length detected. The bold deviators from the beaten track of habitual speculation, are thus the real pioneers of all intellectual advancement: they encounter all the perils of the first assault, without sharing in the glory of the victory; they clear away the dense and thorny thickets of ancient and firmly-rooted delusion; they make the first breaches in the strong walls of established and fortified credulity; and, though they may themselves fail by their own imprudence, they leave a safe and comparatively easy task to the vast brigades of second-rate intellects which will follow whither they have pointed the way.

We freely repeat, then, our former assertion, that in the book before us there is much to admire, though we have also discovered much to condemn. We see brilliant glimpses of half-revealed truths breaking through the mists of fancy, and lighting up the clouds of error. We are assured that the author's eye seeks the polar-star of truth, although his footsteps may be betrayed into the tangled mazes of terrestrial delusion: and we notice throughout a singular vigour of thought and utterance, great powers of sustained reasoning, and a most enviable perspicuity in the manifestation of isolated conceptions. Thus any censure which we may deem it proper to pass upon the work, does not deny us the privilege of admiring its erratic brilliancy; and the determined opposition which we avow to its errors will not make us forgetful of either its claims upon our regard, or its author's title to our respect.

In the previous article, an analysis of the author's theory was given, and the frame-work of his system exhibited. These it may be necessary to repeat hereafter, in order to exhibit their application and development; but, wherever it can be avoided, we shall abstain from cumbering our pages with long extracts, or a detailed exposition of the views of the author, requesting our readers, in all cases which require further illustration, to refer to the book itself. Moreover, we are convinced that neither the relevancy nor the efficacy of our strictures could be intelligibly appreciated without a previous and adequate acquaintance, on the part of the few who may have the taste for such inquiries, with the original treatise itself.

Before proceeding to our main task, the examination of the new philosophy, we wish to premise a few observations on the style of the work and the tenor of its reasoning.

The first impression produced upon our mind by the perusal of the *Vestiges* was, that it was pervaded by great simplicity of thought, disguised under a quaint and foreign expression. But it was difficult to reconcile the actual existence of this simplicity with the necessity for close and constant attention which every sentence required, and with the haze of bewilderment which clouded the mind after any continued study of its pages. The coexistence of such discordant phenomena suggested a doubt as to the real character of the reasoning and expression; and the doubt tempted us to analyze its cause. We were aware that there might be simplicity of thought in what appeared to be the most intricate confusion; and that hopeless obscurity sometimes clothed itself with the semblance of transparent perspicuity and strict method. This author's systematic procedure, with his regular distribution and constant repetition of the triadic processes of derivation, belong evidently in his own estimation to the former category; but we have been strongly tempted to assign it to the latter, and to suppose that its simplicity was rather apparent than real. "The endless cycles within cycles,"* to use his own phrase, seem to form a geometrical mosaic, in which the outlines of the separate figures are sufficiently distinct, though their involutions and convolutions, and their interminable intertexture, knot them up into a labyrinth such as the eye cannot follow, and the reason can scarcely disentangle. The system might, indeed, have been suggested either by Ampère or Wronski, though its affinities to the latter are the more numerous and striking. The former is clear and methodical, though fanciful and tedious. The other leads us blindly on through a wilderness of mazes, which are fancied to be permeable, because the paths are carefully divided off on either hand by the clipped Dutch hedges of mathematical formulism. There is no method so unmethodical as a regularity produced by arbitrary fancies, no perspicuity so obscure as that which springs from the repetition of the same thing under divergent aspects, no simplicity so perplexing as that which rests upon a system whose symmetry is secured only by chimerical analogies; and yet we much fear that such is the character of both the simplicity and perspicuity of the *Vestiges*. The plan may be simple; it is but a triad of novenas continually recurring: and the novenas themselves are only a quadrature of the primitive triad of thought: but novenas and triads are so intertwined, so grafted and inoculated on each other, and varied by such a bewildering process of combinations and permutations, that the reader would gladly exchange a part of this simple regularity for a more satisfactory

* *Vestiges*, § 71, p. 229.

obscurity. If we could persuade the author to try a stronger dose of his own physic, we would invite him to attempt the perusal of M. Hoëné Wronski's *Messianisme*. In that work he would discover all the characteristics of his own in greater excess: * he might even find the indications of his own theory, and would certainly recognise a more complicated application of his own mathematical machinery; but we think he would acknowledge that even the uniformity of the separate members of a vast system, when the reason for the uniformity is uncertain or far-fetched, leaves behind it a dense cloud of unsatisfied mystery over the whole subject.

Our floating suspicion that the simplicity of the author's reasoning is apparent rather than real, is very materially strengthened by the characteristics of his style. In this there is the same singular union of perspicuity of parts and indistinctness of combination. Throughout there is a most licentious employment of trope and metaphor, which are so luxuriantly interwoven with the whole fabric of the expression, and so intricately entangled, that, however graphic and perspicuous the separate images and illustrations may be, if studied apart, they produce a dizzy perplexity by their general effect. The author is sufficiently precise in each isolated statement; but the aggregate forms a chaos of discordant figures, and produces a labyrinth through which it is almost impossible to travel with any assurance of security or comprehension.† Like the brilliant, but garish combinations of the kaleidoscope, in which symmetry of form and an apparent unity of idea are linked with the utmost confusion of the constituent parts, and the sharp angularity and precision of the outline encompass the most puzzling disorder of the elements of the pattern, while the little fragments of glass are by themselves distinct, and of clear and unmistakable hues, so the style of the *Vestiges*, by a peculiar literary jugglery, jumbles up the perspicuous atoms of its expression into a whole, which attains all the formal conditions of symmetry and regularity, of simplicity and precision, and yet results in an intellectual maze, producing

* The similarity of the *Vestiges* to the *Messianisme* is so striking, that it is strange it should be only accidental.

† It is a truth often recalled to the mind by the perusal of the *Vestiges*, that, "les figures mêmes de rhétorique passent en sophismes lorsqu'elles nous abusent." Leibnitz, *Nouv. Ep. sur l'Entendement Humain*, liv. ii, c. ix. There is an expression in the *Avant-Propos* to this work, which, by a slight transposition of the epithets, exactly describes the character of the style of the *Vestiges*. "ces images claires dans l'assemblage, mais confuses dans les parties." If in the spirit of a German list of errata, we say for claires read confuses, and for confuses read claires, we have the portraiture of the literary execution of the work under review.

by excess of light, and even by the dazzling brilliancy of the colours, a sense of irremediable confusion.

Nevertheless, the author's style has very striking merits. The literary execution of the work we consider to be, in many respects, exceedingly brilliant, and to surpass infinitely the philosophical aptitude of the style. The writer, notwithstanding his eccentricities and his unwarrantable employment of terms and metaphors, has unquestionably a wonderful mastery over language. He is strong, terse, and pointed in expression; he has wit of a high order; and his employment of irony and sarcasm, however illegitimate may be their application, is admirable in manner. His skill in shadowing distinctly forth the more delicate shades of his meaning, and following the intricate involutions of human thought by a corresponding pliability of language, displays many traits of great and original genius. However foreign his utterance may be, and with whatever Gallic affectations it may be incrustated over, it is as free from all suspicion of mere verbiage as from the sin of intentional obscurity. We have no hesitation in according to him the credit of remarkable literary powers, and just as little in acknowledging the masculine energy of thought, and the extensive range of miscellaneous information which he has brought to the support and illustration of his thesis. We do not, indeed, trace in his *Vestiges* the indications of mature judgment, sober reflection, or profound learning: we think that the formation of his conclusions and the conception of his theory must have been nearly as hasty as he confesses the composition of his work to have been: and he certainly furnishes abundant evidence that his erudition consists rather of the multifarious gleanings of a discursive reader than of the solid treasures of a patient scholar. What shall be said of the constant and disgraceful blemishes which occur in his orthography? Part of these may be doubtless referred to typographical inaccuracies, for the book is very negligently printed: but when we meet with such oft-recurring deformities as "*Stageryte*," "*residium*," "*Ilyssus*," "*Tybur*," "*Theogeny*," "*Heroogeny*," "*Trismagistus*," "*Aidoi*," "*apochryphal*," "*Ænead*," "*conjugual*," "*Tirtæus*," "*Archilocus*," "*necropoli*," "*Epicurians*," we must acquit the printer and his devil of these blunders, and charge them, not upon the hasty composition, but the defective scholarship of the author.* But, despite these blotches, and even occasional lapses of grammar, the impression produced by the work justifies us

* Attention was called to these blunders in the January number, 1852. We have considered them with care. They cannot be attributed to haste; as the author is one "*chorda qui semper oberrat eadem*:" and the mistakes are such that they could not have been occasioned by the haste of a scholar.

in attributing to it very considerable m^{er}it: and when we consider it in its more purely intellectual characteristics, we shall be disposed to rate still more highly the author's vigour of mind, and even of expression; for it is not an easy task to embody in perspicuous language the mystical fantasies of the new system.

A vivid and idealizing mind, inspired and inflamed by the overmastering accession of a vague but sublime conception—impatient of sober and cautious speculation, and eager to proclaim its new discovery, without having fully apprehended its nature or estimated its value—more anxious to construct a vast and all-embracing theory than solicitous about the soundness, the sufficiency, or the propriety of its materials, has hastily gathered up from far divergent quarters the loose straws, which, during its wild wanderings, might have been attracted within the influence of its magnetic action, and mingling these with the half-kneaded clay of its own dreams, has built up, with these unburnt bricks of Babel, its own fancies, hypotheses, and anticipations, into a scheme believed to be fixed, and supposed to be demonstrated. Thus has been agglomerated an immense mass of alleged doctrines, in which the most discordant materials are aggregated rather than united together, and formed into the semblance of a system by the superinduction of an external appearance of method, rather than by the vital energy of an harmonious, reciprocal, and intimate correlation. The wild and oracular utterances of the author remind us of the frenzy and obscurity of the Cumæan Sibyl:—

At Phœbi nondum patiens, immanis in antro
Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
Excussisse deum: tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premendo.

Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumæa Sibylla
Horrendos canit ambages, antroque remugit
Obscuris vera involvens.

We acknowledge by our quotation the existence of some latent truth in these Vestiges of Civilization, and yet we can scarcely promise to point out clearly the exact *quantum* and *quale* of the truth contained in them, so arduous will be the task of separating the wheat from the chaff. There is peculiar difficulty in criticising, and even in grappling with the argument of the book: but we will not abuse either it or its author for the tantalizing provocations which we are obliged to encounter. Notwithstanding the flagrant example of denouncing those who will not implicitly adopt his opinions which he has set us,* and notwithstanding the copious

* Vestiges, § 47, p. 186.

irony and sarcasm which he pours out on dissidents or anticipated adversaries, we will not call his treatise stupid, absurd, nor even unintelligible, for we do not regard it as such, though it often sorely taxes our powers of attention and discrimination to discern, not so much what is the author's immediate meaning, as the thing meant with reference to the development of the theory. Much careful segregation of implicit ideas, unconsciously involved in his language, though not designed in his expression, is at all times requisite before we can reach the real pith of his argument. This is certainly objectionable, yet we will not object to what merely augments our own labours; for we are willing to crack the bone for the sake of the marrow.* But it is really a grave objection, if it be true, as we shrewdly suspect, and as may be confirmed by many passages in the work itself,† that this difficulty arises from the fact, that the writer is not fully and clearly master of his own meaning throughout; that he merely projects into language the nebulous forms of the unresolved ideas floating in his own mind, instead of only being guilty of indistinctly uttering views clearly and precisely apprehended. There was some truth, though scarcely half a truth, in the doctrine of Descartes, that perspicuity was of itself a criterion of truth: and surely by any such test the *Vestiges* would be stripped of all claim to philosophical discovery. But we are willing to waive this objection too. We will not complain of the contortions and lubricity of the hydra with which we have undertaken to grapple, (we mean no disrespect to the author,) but we will only use a greater effort to overcome the additional difficulty.

But when we divest the exposition of the system of those obscurities of expression which may be charitably supposed to arise from the difficulties and novelties of the attempt, and enter more deeply into the distinctive characteristics of the author's logical procedure, we may still find abundant cause for censure. The whole of his argument, or rather the synthesis of his theory, is erected upon mere analogies. Such a line of argumentation proves, in our opinion, that he has mistaken the characteristics of analogical reasoning, and the nature of the evidence which it affords. It may seem hazardous to attribute such a blunder to an author who prides himself on his strict logical habits of thought, and who is manifestly better versed in both technical and practical logic than is usual now-a-days among the compounders of books and the manufacturers of systems. Nevertheless, we venture to express our conviction that he has entirely misappre-

* Rabelais, liv. i, Prologe.

† *Vestiges*, § 25, p. 99; § 26, p. 107, note; § 47, p. 185.

hended the functions of analogical ratiocination. Analogies, unless they are as strict and precise as the data for induction, do not justify any positive conclusions; they only afford a provisional and presumptive defence against insufficient objections. And even that they may possess this authority, it is essential that they be carefully defined and limited, and not pressed a single line beyond the range of exact correspondence between the things assimilated. To those who have read the *Vestiges* with any care, we need hardly say that the procedure adopted is the very reverse of this. The method may, indeed, be loosely termed inductive, if we admit, as we undoubtedly ought to do, the justice of the author's acute censure of the Baconian induction, that it is only a species of the general type;* for, in this larger acceptation of the term, analogy is itself an inductive process, but bearing about the same relation to the strict formal procedure of scientific induction, that the tortuous and deceptive sorites does to a regular syllogistic scheme.† The only writer who has, in our opinion, confined analogy to its legitimate use, while making it the basis of his whole reasoning, is Bishop Butler, whose great work is even less remarkable as an apology for revealed religion, than as a singularly steady and sustained illustration of a difficult and seductive logical procedure. The author of the *Vestiges* refers to Butler on one occasion, and then in a tone of disparagement; but certainly he has failed to learn from him the legitimate application of that analogical reasoning which so peculiarly, but so diversely characterizes the method of both writers.

The multitudinous analogies of nature, which link together in intricate and indistinct, but admirable harmony, all the parts of creation, and establish a conformity, if not affinity, between the various provinces of mind and matter, certainly indicate a single and common reason as the governing principle of creation, the framer of its laws, and the regulator of its concordant processes. The maintenance of this position is all that was contemplated in Butler's immortal work. But, though the existence of the common original fountain is thus suggested, it cannot be established by any such argument alone: much less is any valid assistance for determining the particular cause or reason of the separate apparent affinities, or of explaining their range or their law. Yet the whole validity of the *Vestiges* rests upon the arbitrary presumption that

* *Vestiges*, § 30, p. 112.

† We cordially assent to the little-noticed and seldom-repeated criticism of Cicero on the employment of the sorites: "*Soritas hoc vocant; qui acervum efficiunt uno addito grano; vitiosum sane et captiosum genus.*" *Ac. Pr. li. xvi.* § 49. Again, *c. xxviii.* § 92: "*lubricum sane et periculosum*" &c."

they do so. The chimerical scheme of the Preestablished Harmony of Leibnitz should have warned the author of attempting to erect a system upon such a hypothetical basis—and yet the argument of Leibnitz is less unwarrantable than his own. The analogies on which he depends, speak to the fancy rather than to the judgment: they inspire poetry, but they supply a most dreamy and insecure foundation for philosophical speculation. They tempt susceptible and ductile minds to invade the realms of science with the conjuring rod of a lively imagination: they may seduce the man of science, if not thoroughly imbued with the scientific spirit, from the limits of his own domain, and entice him into the fairy and ideal wilderness of theoretic construction. But the little we know of the *substratum* of such analogies, the total absence of all accurate acquaintance with the connecting links which bind together the phenomena which are assimilated, must render them totally inefficient as the foundation of any sound philosophy, however vitally they may operate in quickening the perception of the more recondite laws of nature, or in inducing the recognition of the constant presence and unity of divine power. They are like the fairy tales which charm our dreamy childhood, and which may convey valuable instruction under the wildest garb of fancy, but rather as a sort of residual product, arrived at by unconscious sublimation, than as a legitimate consequence of their direct application.

Into the great error of mistaking the nature of the evidence and instruction afforded by the analogies of nature, the anonymous author has fallen, and fallen most grievously, because apparently unconscious of the danger. He is, however, by no means the only philosopher of the day who has been betrayed into this misconception. Even in this country there have been two would-be sages, with whom he would disdain to be compared, and to whom, indeed, he is far superior—Prof. Stallo and Edgar A. Poe—who have often pursued a strikingly similar line of argument; and numerous are the examples which recent foreign literature affords. This defect of our times has arisen from a feverish impatience to rend the veil of Isis, and by a violent and hasty process to pour the sunlight of open day over the mysteries of nature; but the defect and the impatience, we are sorry to say, are becoming alarmingly prevalent. We own that the anile mumbling of narrow scientific inquirers, who are afraid to look beyond observed facts to the principles they reveal, has afforded sufficient provocation for this adventurous course; but, notwithstanding the temptation, we must regard every effort of the kind as, in itself, merely a return to that unwarrantable process of theoretic construction which was censured and illustrated by Lord

Bacon's happy reference to the spider's web.* The whole scheme of the *Vestiges of Civilization* is the pure elaboration of the author's own intellect, conceived *a priori* from the loose suggestions of supposed resemblances in nature, not established by a patient comparison of facts: the results of recorded observation are employed only as the tesserae of an arbitrary and fanciful mosaic, not as the regulating principles of scientific inquiry. It is true, he speaks of "the inductive verification of his theory,"† and fancies that he proceeds by legitimate induction. But, if he had done so—if, indeed, he had clearly recognised the true functions of induction itself,—he would never have spoken of inductive verification—would never have propounded a theory and resorted to induction for its confirmation, but he would have recognised this as the habitual fallacy of the Greek philosophers and the schoolmen; and, even if he had been determined to repudiate the maxim of Newton, "*hypotheses non fingo*," he would have known that his theory should have been established by induction from carefully observed facts, and verified by recourse to deduction and the observation of details. He has, however, just inverted the logical procedure, and recurred to that erroneous method which the *Novum Organon* of Bacon was designed to overthrow. It is singular that a reformer of modern science should thus, in his haste for premature reconstruction, revert to that crude mode of reasoning which has been justly regarded as the weakness of Greek and the folly of mediæval science. But, even in this nineteenth century, after reading the works of Poe, Stallo, Wronski, the *Vestiges*, &c., we may still say of recent times as was said of the earlier, "that it hath proceeded, that divers great learned men have been heretical," (in respect to science, of course,) "whilst they have sought to fly up to the secrets of the Deity by the waxen wings of the senses."‡ The truth is, that the very excess to which the Experimental Philosophy has been pushed, by those who never understood, or never accepted more than the least important half of the Baconian doctrines, has produced a reaction; and that the Baconian philosophy of the nineteenth century, now in the agonies of decay, is running into all the licences and vagaries of the scholastics, against whom Bacon struggled with triumphant success.

* De Augm. Sci., lib. i, vol. viii, p. 33. Adv. of Learning, vol. ii, p. 39. Ed. B. Montagu. This celebrated passage seems to have been suggested to Lord Bacon by Francis Balduinus, a distinguished jurist with whose writings Bacon appears to have been familiar, though he never mentions them. The idea occurs in an essay of Balduinus. Schol. Jur. Civ. Argent., 1555.

† *Vestiges*, &c., § 52, p. 190.

‡ Bacon, Adv. of Learning, b. i, vol. ii, p. 12.

In bringing this accusation against the *Vestiges of Civilization*, we may be supposed by the author to have unconsciously conceded one of his own leading postulates—(for a principle merely illustrated, and not proved, we must regard as a postulate)—that every great intellectual advancement is achieved by an introversion—it would have been more correct to have said, an introversusception or subsumption—of former processes. We have no apprehensions of any such concession. The truth contained in the principle, so magnified by this author, is one which has a very different bearing from what he has imagined, and in no respect justifies or sustains his theory. It is rather the characteristic of each new tentative towards advancement, than of the advancement itself, that it traces backwards the lines and steps of former progression. It is the concomitant of the doubting, unsettled, wavering spirit, which is in the act of renouncing effete formulas, and which, being denied the clear prospect of a definitely expanding future, is compelled, in its revolt from the present, to recur to the past, and endeavour to reconstruct a new scheme out of the crumbling ruins of former systems. It is a resilience from old error—a reaction against decomposition—not of itself a forward movement. True it is, that with the obliquity and one-sidedness which spring from human frailty, there is in each successive period an alternating movement, an anticlinal inclination. But the principle contemplated by the *Vestiges* is, in its essence, the type of a transition, and not of an advancing age—the symbol of a negative, and not of a creative era; and so far as it does project its own hues more and more faintly over succeeding developments, it is chiefly inasmuch as all progress implies accretion to former acquisitions and their absorption, not their negation.

We object, however, not merely to the employment of analogical reasoning in the manner in which it is used in these *Vestiges*, but we conceive it to be a still stronger objection that these analogies are for the most part pure fancies. We make this allegation not having the fear of the author's denunciation before our eyes, although he does say, "I trust the cant about 'fanciful analogies,' 'plausible reasoning,' 'ingenious hypotheses,' &c., &c., is what no serious reader of the foregoing pages will have the face to even mutter—that is, indeed, if he has behind it a brain above a monkey's."* Such language may be thought remarkably rational by some, and highly indecorous by others—it certainly indicates neither the tone nor

* *Vestiges*, § 47, p. 186. This intemperate and unbecoming denunciation of all who may hereafter differ from the views of the *Vestiges* is perfectly accordant with the course of Hoëné Wronski. *Messianisme*, tome ii, p. 505. But this is the least important point of agreement between the two works.

the temper of an impartial lover of truth; but, in whatever light it may be regarded, we are not to be deterred by such foregone censure from both considering his work to be a constant exemplification of all three, and from deeming such outbursts a sign that he is himself sorely conscious of the weakness and invalidity of his mode of reasoning. "The galled jade winces."

We do consider his analogies to be *eminently* fanciful. A glaring example of his habit of drawing an induction from a mere *capriccio* is found in his explanation of the institution of inheritance by reference to the supposed prevalence of a pagan belief in the continued similarity of the condition of the dead to their mundane existence. "As to the principle of inheritance, it was originally of the nature of a power of attorney, or rather an assignment in trust to the heirs from the absent owner of the property."* It will be noticed, in the first instance, that this induction as stated rests upon a *possibilitas*, or rather *probabilitas remotissima*, as a mere matter of conjecture; and it may be observed, in the second place, that the alleged explanation is at variance with the whole history of property and inheritance. But this is only an incidental and disconnected illustration of the fanciful character of the author's speculations and analogies. We will furnish another which interpenetrates the whole work, constitutes one of its most essential features, forms almost the whole basis of the system, and is, notwithstanding, in great measure a pure imagination.

The Triads and Trinities, which play such an important part in the theory, are in themselves singular, but are, for the most part, either accidental, or are coincidences depending so entirely upon an unknown cause—or, to employ language less objectionable to the author, they are co-relations so completely without obvious interdependence or discernible connexion—that, for all purposes of argumentation, they must be treated as accidental. The number of such triads might have been indefinitely augmented by the consultation of Cudworth's Intellectual System of the Universe, or of a remarkable romance written by a Scotch Jacobite in France, the Chevalier Ramsay, at a time when a sort of semi-classical fiction had been rendered popular. We are far from being disposed to cite the Chevalier Ramsay as valid authority for anything, or from referring to Cudworth as a great philosopher; but the facts collected by both in regard to this matter of a heathen trinity of gods, and an all-pervading tri-unity in creation, show how easy it is to discover, invent, or multiply such ternary harmonies, and how artificial are the links of resemblance by which they are arranged. They have been exhibited in all periods,

* Vestiges, § 134, p. 336.

and in connexion with the most divergent systems; and are more significantly developed in the *Enneads* of Plotinus, and in the *revelies* of the Alexandrian school, than in the *Vestiges of Civilization*. They can neither prove nor establish the validity of a philosophic scheme: all that they can do is to suggest the delivery of a partial and primitive revelation, which has been transmitted to all succeeding generations in a travestied and mutilated form by a fluctuating and uncertain tradition. Yet even this is perhaps stretching their significance too far; for when gathered up, arranged, and combined, as in the present work, they exhibit a purely arbitrary division of the phenomena of nature, as recognised by sense, or as elaborated by intellect, and have no claims to precedence over any other arbitrary distribution, such as the binary classification of the objects of science, proposed by Ampère. If, like Plato, we attempt to build up the universe by a new intellectual evolution, to re-compound creation with numbers, and to make numerical analogies, like those devised by the Pythagoreans, the types and symbols of creation and of vital or mental development, although a preference may, perhaps, be claimed, on the score of the number of witnesses, for the Platonic triads, yet the Pythagorean tetractys, or the Hebrew number seven,* or, indeed, any other of the elementary numbers, might contest the claim, and it would be ultimately decided by accident rather than evidence; unless the verdict were given in favour of the ternaries of the *Vestiges*, on the principle of the old rule—“*numerantur testes, non ponderantur.*”

To a mind capable of preserving its equipoise amid the present jar of conflicting systems, which arise from the dead like the dry bones in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and carry on a bloodless and spectral warfare with each other, this resurrection of Platonic or Pythagorean doctrines—this body-snatching of the old carcass of forgotten symbolism and mysticism, which has been attempted both by the present author and by a still more profound and erratic writer, Höéné Wronski, is assuredly one of the most singular manifestations of the day.

If the same caution had been exercised in the *Vestiges* in employing these triads which was shown even in the fanciful system of Ampère in the binary and quaternary distribution of knowledge, we should scarcely have made an objection. The imperfections and the future expansibilities of science render a natural classification of the branches of knowledge a perpetual impossibility, certainly a present one. The classification must, therefore, be in a great measure arbitrary.

* M. Wronski's Seven Orders of Creation indicate a desire to unite the Hebrew with the Platonic numeration.

trary, and all that art can do is to render it comprehensive, simple, and complete; while it is the part of self-deluding artifice to make it appear natural by the coercion of predetermined harmony, and by the concealment of its arbitrary character. As long as this character is avowed, it is a mere matter of comparative expediency whether we adopt a binary, a ternary, a quaternary, or a quinary arrangement; but when we assume this artificial and arbitrary methodism as a proof of a subsistent natural distribution and uniformity, as is done by the *Vestiges*, and by it pushed in to the most remote ramifications of nature and knowledge, of fact and science, as if it was the plastic force preordaining the evolutions of both correlatives, we then plunge into the bottomless abysses of fancy, and mistake the illusion of our own dreams for the secret operations of the creative power. The appearance of truth, the plausibilities of demonstration, are assumed by this procedure because its regularity only is noticed, while its arbitrary complexion is overlooked—it is a revival of the preëstablished harmony of Leibnitz, only the preordaining agency is transferred from the will and power of God to the mind and imagination of man. We object, then, not to the adoption of the ternary scale, but to the oblivion of its character—not to the particular distribution of the objects and modes of knowledge, but to the supposition that this division rests upon inherent distinctions, is exclusive of all others, and reveals the latent processes of creative or historical development. It is in this aspect that we characterize these triadic analogies as pure fancies.

But the other analogies of the *Vestiges* are not merely occasionally or accidentally fanciful; they are, from their general complexion, systematically and almost necessarily so. They are, in the main, etymological, and consequently the inferences can rarely establish much more than verbal resemblances. The frenzy of derivation is strikingly exhibited in the *Cratylus* of Plato, which has consequently become the laughing-stock of the moderns; but there are wilder flights of fiction in the *Vestiges* than even Plato ever ventured to indulge. We are not disposed to undervalue the assistance which may be rendered by etymology in the way of indication or suggestion; but we are unwilling that it should be assumed as evidence of real affinities until carefully and closely scrutinized. But in all etymological deductions there is a great danger, into which this writer continually falls, of assuming imaginary affinities, and of explaining the origination of words and their significance by the application of their latest derivative meanings. He thus exactly reverses the legitimate procedure. The poetic instinct, which first inspired the use of the radical term, is the genetic cause of its signification, and the

sole source of its original usages: the gradual abstractions, tropes, generalizations, and limitations of progressive necessity and progressive reason eliminate the greater portion of the primitive poetic symbolization, and just leave the hard, precise denotation of a later day to indicate growing precision of human thought and the gradual advancement of human civilization. There is frequently no more resemblance between the earlier and later signification of words, or between the meaning of the radix and its derivatives, than there is between the oak and the acorn from which it grew. Thus, if a later sense be applied to words in their inceptive or intermediate stages, the whole service to be expected from the historical mutations of their meanings is lost, and we are betrayed into the heinous error stigmatized by the author himself,* of judging the earlier by the later world. Thus the science of a civilized community is made the measure, the test, and the interpreter of the conceptions of a barbarous epoch.

An illustration of this licentious reference to etymology is supplied by the author's unnecessary attempt to justify the coinage of the term taxonomy, (taxinomy,) by dwelling upon the signification of the terms *νόμος*, *λόγος*, and *γραφῶν*.† The only remark, in connexion with this topic, which is not fanciful, is that "all three terminations are becoming more regular according as we advance along the scale of science, and must end with being completely systematized."‡ This observation should have unsealed his eyes to the recognition of all that was truly imported by his supposed etymological analogies. They are the result of a later and conscious effort of systematization, not the spontaneous product of original instincts, or the exhibition of primary relations. The application of *νόμος* to law, of *λόγος* to theory, principle, or anything like it, and of *γραφῆ* to description, was a late and derivative procedure in the employment of these terms. For proof of this we content ourselves with referring to that useful but neglected book—the Lexicon. But we cannot be content to abandon this topic without informing the author that the introduction of the designation of astronomy belonged to a period when that science formed a subordinate branch of music, and *νόμος* was more properly applied to the harmony of musical notes than to the regularity of law; thus upsetting all the supposed distinctions on which his criticism is founded.

Another form of this frenzy of etymological ingenuity draws its

* Vestiges, Introd., § 2, p. 12.

† Vestiges, § 33, p. 126.

‡ Ibid. We do not distinctly recollect whether the author ever refers to Ampère's Classification of the Sciences; we are under the impression he does; and we think, perhaps, he may have been misled into this play upon words by the whimsical caprices of that able but fanciful work.

inferences by mistaking the trivial and casual resemblances of words for natural and logical affiliations, and is revealed in his ostensible deduction of architecture, as one of the fine arts, from the discovery of the arch.* Now the art was known, practised, named, and commented on, long before the arch was thought of, and in an entirely different region. There is no actual etymological connexion between the two words. Arch is derived from the Latin *arcus*, a bow. Archi-ecture is from the Greek, and signifies the art of the master-builder; being from *ἀρχή*, which denotes, especially in composition, the chief or superior.

For further proof of the employment of merely etymological analogies, and of etymologies arbitrary and imaginary, and conjectured ingeniously from fancied similitudes, rather than suggested by sober comparison, we may allege the supposed satisfactory explanation of the determining reason—the instinctive principle—for the classification of the genders.† The author remarks that this is “a division of class or kind,” not of sex; and that the sexual distinction of nouns, if we may use the phrase, is a subsequent innovation. He has been apparently led to this inference from regarding the idea of genus as anterior to that of gender. Unfortunately for this novel theory, any supposed basis on which it might rest is removed by historical as well as etymological considerations. The very idea of genus, as of kind, is a deduction from the idea of generation, as is illustrated by the line of Shakspeare:—

“A little less than kin, and more than kind.”

This is conclusively proved by the history of the word *genus*, and of all equivalent or correlative terms. The deduction and explanation of genus and species by Porphyry and the scholiasts on the *Organon* of Aristotle will exhibit this in the clearest manner. Is the author cognizant of the period when the term *genus* was first employed? So far as we can discover, it is first used in its logical sense by Plato; but in the sense of a family or race its usage was much earlier. And, assuredly, the idea of gender, as a distinction of sex, was long anterior to this, and was so manifested in language. Indeed, the notion of gender exists amongst uncultivated barbarians, that of genus only amongst highly-civilized and metaphysical races. Hence the recognition of a genetic distinction must necessarily have preceded the supposition of a generic difference, and the author of the *Vestiges* has mistaken a fancied etymological deduction for a predetermining cause. But this violates his own historical development, and especially his evolution of the intellectual world, according

* *Vestiges*, § 92, p. 274.

† *Vestiges*, § 60, pp. 208-9.

to the progression of the increasing complication of ideas. The only shadow of a foundation for his inference is afforded by the fact, that the same word in Greek signifies both genus and gender; though the introduction of these meanings took place at dates widely separated from each other. He disregards the chronology of facts and ideas, and transfers the metaphysics of the Socratic school to the incunabula of the Greek language, and this in confirmation of a scheme which is proposed as the chronological explication of the development of human civilization.

Before abandoning this topic we deem it but just to add that there is a germ of latent truth in this novel view, and to explain the exact amount of that truth. We think that it accounts satisfactorily for some of the anomalies of grammar, and for the irregular manner in which the genders of nouns have been assigned to them; it may indicate how it has happened that, without any apparent rule of procedure, they have been classed under one gender or the other; how, after the genders had been formed, with regard to the distinction of sex, this principle was apparently disregarded in the determination of the genders of later words; and how this anomaly may have extended itself throughout the various ramifications of successive languages. This we may esteem a most important indication towards the establishment of a valid philosophy of grammar; but we regard this as the sum total of the truth contained in the new doctrine. And observe that, except for the purpose of maintaining the systematic uniformity of the author's theory, the principle thus limited explains all the anomalies of gender, and expends its whole availability just as fully as if we should give full credence to the dicta of the *Vestiges* on the subject.

We are not yet quite done with these etymological fancies: they form so prominent a feature in the book, while the charge of fanciful conjecture is so widely disavowed by the author, that we are desirous of pointing out instances where his ingenuity in the invention of verbal analogies betrays itself. As the primitive rocks, which form the basis of the earth's crust, frequently crop out and reveal at the surface the nature of the *substratum* on which the more familiar ingredients of our globe are superimposed, and as this usually happens in the more rugged and intractable countries, so when the author of the *Vestiges* finds himself on peculiarly rocky ground, and is unable otherwise to lead his cohort of analogies through a precipitous defile, he exhibits in its bare and naked form the etymological legerdemain, the feverish frenzy of verbal similitudes, which constitute the presiding spirit of his work. What can be a more striking indication of the weakness and invalidity of his procedure

than his illustration of the contrast between the Theological and Heroic Epics, as he terms them, by the opposition of the epithets clerical and lay,* because the latter name was given to some mediæval romaunts? The *lay-man*† was opposed to the clericus, or clerk, as one belonging to the people, one of the multitude, in contradistinction to the man of religion, who was separated from the mass, and raised to a higher class by his sacred functions and the imposition of hands. The *lay* of the poets was so termed from the German "Lied," a song, and the *lai* of the French, of probably the same origin; for, so far as we can discover, it is not strictly Provençal. There is scarcely any possibility that these dissimilar terms, whose resemblance appears only fortuitous, could have come from the same source; but if they did, they descended by very divergent routes, and retained no connexion with each other.‡

Our allegations, then, against the character of the reasoning by which the theory of the Vestiges of Civilization is supported, are that the argument proceeds by analogy, and that employed in an illegitimate manner; that the analogies are strained and fanciful, and are necessarily so, as being principally sustained by etymology; and that these etymologies are themselves both imaginary and incorrect. This is certainly an ingenious reduplication of errors. If these objections be just, as we believe them to be, there is ample cause to render us suspicious of any theory which looks to such demonstration for its establishment, and we might leave the further characterization of the argument, and the system itself without further comment, convinced that a scheme so crudely conglomerated must be destitute of any intrinsic solidity. But there are other, and even greater, defects in the work, and we cannot consent to bid adieu even to those already indicated until we have explained how it could happen that an author, possessing, in many respects, such logical acumen, could have been betrayed into such an erroneous and invalid line of argumentation. We shall not merely do this, but hope also to show how, with his objects and postulates, he was necessarily beguiled into it. When we shall have furnished both the exposition of the error and the explication of its necessity, we might, perhaps, rightfully claim that the author should cease to follow after strange gods and to build up new Babels, and should devote his unquestionably high talents to the more tedious but more certain prosecution of truth by legitimate routes, forsaking his brilliant, compendious

* Vestiges, § 74, p. 235.

† From the Greek λαός, λαϊκός, belonging to the people.

‡ Another example of like etymological confusion occurs § 129, p. 328, in regard to the word *holy*.

processes. This, however, would be expecting too much from any enthusiastic designer of new systems, and especially of such a complete comprehensive theory, as he believes, "comprising all principles, and comprised in all experience," and capable, as he humorously supposes, of being "made evident and irresistible to the plainest understanding."*

The author of the *Vestiges* has started from a wrong point in the establishment of his thesis. Instead of commencing, like the Frenchman, with the commencement, he has begun at the conclusion, and worked backwards, and it is this erroneous direction which has vitiated his whole procedure. In the mere distribution of the contents of the work, there is the appearance of a double movement; first, analytical, in determining the constituent factors of civilization, so far as the mind of man is concerned; and, secondly, synthetical, in applying these factors to the actual development of human history. But a close examination will show that the first as well as the second part of the *Vestiges* is in reality synthetical, though the synthesis is in the former instance applied to the abstract elements of intellectual evolution, in the latter to the more concrete manifestations of human advancement.† In both cases, however, he has in truth assumed his system, and endeavoured to demonstrate its verity by illustration and analogy—the only course available for the establishment of predetermined results in accordance with predetermined postulates. This is the secret cause, the instinctive reason, of his recurrence to the analogical reasoning which he misapplies:—

Postulat, ut capiat, quæ non intelligit, arma.‡

This, as already intimated, is the offence of the ancient and mediæval theorists; and there is a striking parallelism in the means employed by them and in the *Vestiges*; among these we may mention the recourse to etymologies, which may be illustrated by the dialogues of Plato, and by the *opus majus* of Roger Bacon, though in a much less degree than in the writings of most of his precursors and contemporaries. When a man of quick perception sits down with the determination of seeing in the immense treasury of recorded facts

* *Vestiges*, § 1, p. 11.

† In this remark we have ventured to diverge from the opinion previously expressed, when more attention was paid to the author's professions, than to the intrinsic character of his procedure, the object then being a mere outline of his system. What little analysis is exhibited in the *Vestiges* predominates in the second part, but, wherever employed, it is always in the discharge of a subsidiary function.

‡ Ovid. *Met.*, lib. xiii, v. 295, which we may translate, "He postulates, that he may apply the arms he cannot rightly handle."

only the confirmation of a preconceived theory, it will rarely happen that he will fail to obtain such evidence as may satisfy his own easy belief or beguile loose readers who are equally startled and overpowered by the force of singular coincidences, whether these arise from accident, design, or interdependent correlation. For either party the merest show of evidence is sufficient, and is believed to be conclusive; though a strict examination would in almost every case reveal the fallacy of the proof relied on. As the theory itself is only an arbitrary assumption until proved, so the method of proof by which it is to be sustained partakes of the same arbitrary and fanciful character. If history can be taken as a guide, we may always expect verbal inferences to supplant in such cases veritable deductions, and etymological fantasies to usurp the place of induction. Something, indeed, may be attributed to different idiosyncrasies. The tastes of the author of the *Vestiges* seem inclined towards etymological amusements, and he consequently displays a constant appetency for etymological analogies. M. Hoëné Wronski, on the other hand, has a partiality for mathematics, transcending even the regard of the investigator for his mathematical processes, and he undertakes a similar journey, and is conveyed over his route by mathematical theorems and the abracadabra of a sublimated system of algebraic formulas, such as Lacroix and Arago have declared their inability to comprehend. But, in both cases, the reasoning proceeds from the accidents of conception, not from the realities of either the facts or the phenomena; and hence necessitates the employment of accidental analogies, whether numerical or etymological. Indeed, when both the principles and the conclusions are virtually fixed in advance, and it is merely proposed to get over the intermediate space by the most direct line, it will be always practicable, and frequently expedient, to leave the established roads, and gallop across the country, as if riding a steeple-chase. And such, let us say, are the characteristics of this author's mode of reasoning.

The grievous error of renouncing the method of Baconian induction in favour of the loose and licentious procedure of the scholastic ages, lies at the root of all the blunders into which the author has fallen. This charge of reverting to the ante-Baconian methods is not supported on light suspicion; it is indicated by the whole tenor of the *Vestiges*, and is virtually confessed, when the writer complains that the people have hitherto been asked to study the tree of knowledge through the branches, but never through the supreme simplification of the trunk.* They have not been exactly

* *Vestiges*, § 1, p. 10.

directed to study through the branches, but through the fruits which hang upon the branches: nor would any one dream of studying through the trunk—the wild hallucination of a *philosophia prima*—unless he conceived omniscience attainable by man, or desired to perform the miracles of omniscience without its possession.

Notwithstanding such objections, perhaps partly in consequence of the very defects objected to, the *Vestiges of Civilization* are equally well calculated to delude the author and to deceive the reader with respect to the validity of the argumentation. The facts are, for the most part, true, acutely selected, and judiciously arranged; the inferences often correct, as well as ingenious, but only partial, and by no means adequate for the complete explanation designed; but the colligation of facts for the purpose of bolstering up the theory is both arbitrary and erroneous. The same array of facts will admit equally well of half a dozen other explanations, each as plausible and more general. But this is exactly the point to which attention is least apt to be directed. M. Comte, Vico, and many others, have given to a similar succession of corresponding facts a very different interpretation. It is one of the necessary consequences of the author's unscientific method of procedure—of marshalling his special instances in support of foregone conclusions—that his explanation should be only one of many possible explanations, and utterly devoid of ability to establish its claims to preference over the others.

The author has never suspected the radical fallacy of his general line of argument. An interpretation of the phenomena of the universe, showing how some or even all of the observed results might possibly have been produced, or that they do accord with the conditions of a given theory, is by no means necessarily either a true or an adequate exhibition of the mode in which they were actually produced. This would be to mistake accident for law, and ingenious conjecture for the processes of nature. If we concede to the *Vestiges of Civilization* that its premises are correct, and its deductions just, it by no means ensues that it affords a correct interpretation of human development, unless we also concede that the premises are adequate and coextensive with the subject. But it is far otherwise. The concentrics and eccentrics, the cycles and epicycles of the Alexandrian school—no greater maze than the triplicating triplicities of this triadic scheme—certainly manifested a closer correspondence with the phenomena of the universe than can be claimed for the *Vestiges*; yet the astronomy of Ptolemy has been abandoned as a fiction. A well-constructed orrery may exhibit the various revolutions, mutations, and motions of the heavenly bodies, preserving

a correct representation of their proportionate magnitudes and periods, yet we know that the celestial orbs revolve through space without the aid of the intricate wheels and clumsy machinery which regulate the phases of a *planetarium*. When the definite results of observation or of scientific induction are the data of the problem, and the task is to reason back from these premises to the modes of their generation, a most delusive semblance of the true theory of causation may be elaborated by any skilful scheme which the fancy may conjecture, provided its symmetry be artificially preserved, and its separate links be made to osculate with the intermediate phenomena. Yet this only indicates what by possibility might have been one mode of development out of innumerable others, not the one which has been really operative.

The process is a very different one, though the dissimilarity is rarely suspected, of deducing theoretically from data, assumed or established, conclusions already settled by previous investigation, which the author very frequently appears to do, thus giving a deceptive efficacy to his argument, and discovering these conclusions by a gradual process of ascending generalizations. Even if the starting-point in the former case is hypothetically assumed, the goal, the route, and the stations along the line, are all determined and erected in advance, and a very short and arbitrary passage, whose character is unnoticed or forgotten, conveys the speculator to the route already constructed. It is the difference between leaving one's own house on foot or in a private vehicle for the depot of a railroad, and thence pursuing the journey by predetermined and pre-furnished agencies along a preconstructed road to an ascertained and determinate point, and the task of locating the said road through the wilderness, putting down the station-posts, regulating and establishing the grade, building the roadway, inventing, making, and supplying the machinery, and discovering and applying the various laws of nature which concur in the production of the result. In the latter case everything is to be done, the point of departure alone being given; in the former everything is determined, except the point of departure, and it is indifferent where that may be, so that it is within reasonable distance of the line. In the former case all is unknown, has to be discovered, invented, and provided; in the latter the road and the conveyance are already constructed, and they will not only convey the passenger safely to his destination, but also his baggage, whether theories or trunks. We are not assured that our metaphorical parallel is very distinct or intelligible—the author of the *Vestiges* can forgive us much on both scores—but such is the difference between discovering and establishing the facts

which enter into the composition of a theory of science, and explaining, as is done in the *Vestiges*, those facts, already demonstrated and received by a novel theory. Under the latter circumstances, however fallacious the theory may be in itself, the correspondence with the facts, especially if a little violence be employed, will always be sufficiently striking to produce the supposition of a natural and not an artificial conformity between them and the doctrine; while the acknowledged truth of the facts themselves will reflect back the apparent light of their own truth upon the scheme by which they are feigned to be proved. And this appears to be the correct criticism to be employed in estimating the *Vestiges of Civilization*, the *Vestiges of Creation*, the *Eureka* of Edgar A. Poe, the *Philosophy of Nature* of Stallo, and the divers other works of like character which have been recently issued from the press, in which there is the semblance of an *a priori* or deductive demonstration of the system of the Universe, while in reality the argument is only ostensibly a demonstration, the line of reasoning being truly determined in advance *ex vi termini* and *ex ratione vice*. By this procedure nothing can be in reality established; it is merely the fanciful recreation of a lively imagination.

The examination of the mode of reasoning adopted by the *vestiges of civilization* would thus appear to show that it is merely a capricious *rifacimento* of the results of past progress and present science, worked up into an ideal synthesis by imagination intertwining therewith loose analogies and looser etymologies. With the exception of this frenzy of fancy there is no real construction. The system is throughout the ashes of the past, fanned into a fitful, flickering, and uncertain glow by a laborious expenditure of breath, and a display of ingenuity which, if properly applied, might have advanced the frontier of any of the sciences. As it is, there is no real addition to our knowledge—no solid advancement of philosophy or science, which can only appear in the first instance as the germ of truth which the future may develop, not as a compact, complete, and symmetrical system. It may serve to show, by the junction of the hope of success with such a lawless procedure, that the past is effete, and has attained its limits; it may reveal the urgent need and aspiration for fresh reconstruction and for the reëxamination of the conditions and compass of human thought; but it only indicates the more strikingly on that account the anarchical, confused, and chaotic character of the intellect of an age, when such reveries could be conceived to be valid.

The remark of the mathematician, that he could not perceive what was proved by Milton's *Paradise Lost*, might be singularly

mal-à-propos as a criticism of a poem; but it is certainly a legitimate criterion in judging of a work of metaphysical speculation, pretending to reform the whole range of science, and to furnish a rational development of both the material and intellectual universe. What, then, is proved by these *Vestiges of Civilization*? Supposing the argumentation to be valid, to what net result would the conclusions bring us? Assuredly not to the point anticipated by the author—not to the recognition of either the truth or sufficiency of his system. All that we can discover to be demonstrable by the work, even after the concession of our objections, is, that there is an analogy which runs through and harmonizes all parts of nature, and that this analogy proceeds upon the basis of a triple difference and a triple resemblance. *Voilà tout*. It might establish a triadic similitude between all the forms of human development, but would it uphold the thesis that this was any complete explanation of the process? Does it not rather apply a law arbitrarily assumed, than evince the validity of the law, its right to be regarded as adequate and exclusive, or its reason?

We have thus run over the most characteristic defects of the author's reasoning, and, having exposed the invalidity of his logic, we might with propriety turn to the estimation of his thesis. The presumption certainly is strongly against the possibility of a system so sustained being either trustworthy or available, for the vice of the procedure must vitiate the results. But still the *Vestiges* may be regarded in two different points of view, either with respect to the scheme proposed, or with respect to the manner of its proposal; and each may apparently demand a separate inquiry. The one point only have we examined hitherto, and it was our deliberate intention to have proceeded duly and patiently to the consideration of the former; but our remarks have already run to such an un contemplated length, that, though the easier task remains, we must dispense with its prosecution, and confine our further comments to a few general observations which may reveal the weakness of the system, and the impropriety of its aims.

The work consists of two parts, essentially distinct: the theory, and its application to human development. It is the second part which more peculiarly justifies the title which has been assumed, for herein an effort is made to trace the footsteps of advancing humanity, and to rearrange the *Vestiges of progressive civilization*. With reference to this purpose the name is happily chosen, though, so far as the accomplishment of this aim is concerned, the scheme of the work dwindles into a mere philosophy of history, and enters into competition with the many other treatises, written with the view

of discovering the law of past progress. But to detect that law it is necessary first to construct the general theory of human development, and hence the scope of the work is enlarged, and the first part is devoted to the creation of a theory which may furnish the clue to the *Vestiges of Civilization*, and which naturally attempts the solution of the mysteries of the intellectual and material universe, as history exhibits the combined product of all the faculties of man operating in concert with all the varied agencies of nature. Thus, both the partition of the book and the order of its parts may admit of explanation; and this predetermining cause seems to be recognised by the author himself in his Introduction, when he says:—

“But to construct this scientific scale, (to wit, of the conditions of progressive civilization,) of which the theorem had long since been attempted by Vico, and quite recently established by Comte, who is the greater Newton, succeeding the great Kepler, of social and universal science; to verify the abstract theory by a general induction of human history, and verified, to apply it to the explanation of civilization, (even as Laplace explained the physical counterpart by the law of gravitation,) this double task appears to be the grand achievement which time has kept in store for the positive method of Francis Bacon and the mental manhood of the nineteenth century.”^o

We have cited this passage not merely for the purpose of indicating the agreement of the author's views or instincts with the interpretation of his plan, which we have given, but because almost every member of this brief sentence is open to objection, and reveals the existence of a separate error. We would observe that it recognises the necessity of first constructing the theory or science of civilization, or, what is the same thing, of history, since civilization is only the ultimate product of history—the *summum genus* of science,† to use metaphorically the phrase which the author employs seriously, and that it then asserts the necessity of verifying this theory by an induction from history. We have already commented upon the misapplication of inductive reasoning to the general purpose of verifying a theory, and would only note here that the theory to be proved is much ampler than the proof which is offered, and that the two processes of the task proposed, as of the book itself, stand reciprocally to each other in the relation of both evidence and conclusion. The first part, or the general theory, is verified by the second part, or the special induction; and the second part, or philosophy of history, is established by the first, or the science of universal development. The conclusions of the first part become the premises of the second, and the conclusions of the second constitute the verification of the first. This procedure is certainly guilty of all the vices of arguing in a circle, of which fallacy it is

^o *Vestiges of Civilization*, § 5, pp. 26, 27.

† *Vestiges*, § 46, p. 174.

only a disguised example. Thus, the whole interest of the work centres in the first part, which gives the philosophy; and the *Vestiges of Civilization*, instead of being examined as a scientific interpretation of history, can only claim to be estimated as a theoretical exposition of creative development. This change of venue certainly enlarges the range of view, but the limits of the argument are diminished by the necessity of confining the attention to the premises alone, as the verification of the theory by the conformity of its conclusions with the alleged inductions of the second part must be entirely rejected. If the premises are true, they receive no confirmation from the application of the theory to human history; but are either truly assumed, or must be established by other evidence.

Before we proceed to the discussion of these premises, let us notice the singular misapprehension of conceiving the method of Bacon to be positive, in the sense of any supposed agreement with the narrow and exclusive system of Comte, and the further and still grosser blunder of supposing himself and his system to be in the same line of progress with the Baconian Instauration, whereas, as we have shown in an earlier passage, his procedure evidently reverts to the ante-Baconian method. The error in regard to Comte has been elsewhere exposed by us, the blunder in regard to himself is too obvious to be overlooked, and can only be equalled by the mockery with which he speaks of the mental manhood of the nineteenth century, when his whole essay, warp and woof, is interwoven with his sneers and denunciations at the pedantry, the stolidity, and the ignorance of the age.

We have said that the whole question with regard to the *Vestiges* might be legitimately narrowed down to a consideration of its premises. And first, we notice the general division of the subject.

"Of Civilization . . . the total evolution presents three different phases, proceeds upon three distinct bases, is performed in three principal cycles progressively. It operates first upon the physical world of nature; next, upon the moral world of man; finally, upon the logical world of Relation—the relations subsisting really between these two collective substances."* . . . "The distinctive epithets . . . will be the words mythological, metaphysical, and scientific. For description's sake, the cycles will also be referred to occasionally by certain other series of corresponding terms: such as, respec-

* *Vestiges*, § 8, p. 33. This position is only a mutilation of the idea so much more lucidly and philosophically expressed by M. Comte, *Cours de Phil. Pos.*, quarantième leçon, tome iii, p. 269: "L'étude de l'homme et celle du monde extérieur constituent nécessairement le double et éternel sujet de toutes nos conceptions philosophiques. Chacun de ces deux ordres de spéculations peut être appliqué à l'autre, et lui servir même de point de départ. De là résultent deux manières de philosopher entièrement différentes, et même radicalement opposées," &c., &c.

tively, the Physical, the Ethical, the Philosophical; or the Objective, the Subjective, and the Systematic.

"This arrangement, I may be allowed to say, has something still more to recommend it than being thus spontaneously natural and methodically convenient. It is, in fact, a compound and necessary result, in the first place, of the logical organization of the mind conceiving; secondly, of the cosmical order among the things to be conceived; thirdly, of the consequent modes of the conception. In more familiar terms, it flows conjointly from the constitution of the human intellect, the composition of the external world, and the natural position of the one towards the other. The explanation of these three fundamental factors of the problem will therefore demand a preliminary department of the work; and, together with one to each of the cyclical divisions, will make in all the four parts into which it is accordingly distributed."

It depends, of course, upon the execution of the work, whether this general division of the subject, prefixed to the elaboration of the system, is to be regarded in the light of the thesis to be proved, or as merely the indication of the line of proof. In the present instance we have no hesitation in declaring our conviction that it is intended as the latter, but is employed as the former; it is exhibited as a general chart of the course to be pursued, in which respect it is free from objection; it is used as the general enunciation of the problem, and thus becomes part of the argument, though, from its more obvious character, the relation of all that follows and its relevancy as demonstration are overlooked, because the issue is disguised. When we consider the statement we have quoted in the light of the thesis of the work, we perceive, from what has been previously remarked, that it derives no confirmation from the development of the theory; but what is certainly singular, is, that the author is himself completely deluded by his own fallacious procedure, and virtually confesses his sophistry by alleging that the preliminary department of the book will be devoted to the explanation of the three fundamental factors of the problem. Explanation is not what is requisite to sustain a novel system; it is of avail merely for the purpose of elucidating what is obscure, or of developing what is conceded, and cannot subserve the functions of proof. The very idea, therefore, of merely presenting an explanation of the three fundamental factors, indicates a latent consciousness that the factors themselves are assumed, and that the system is merely educed from them, and its mode of evolution explained in a manner which might possibly be true if the premises were themselves true; but it also admits that no demonstration of the truth of either system or premises is attempted.

As the enunciation of the plan is to be received as the thesis, and the factors considered as data, it is of importance to estimate the value of both. In speaking of M. Comte's Philosophy on a previous occasion, we have shown the fallacy of the distribution of the periods of history into the three eras proposed—for in this

respect the Vestiges are indebted to M. Comte—and we have also alleged strong reasons for regarding this ternary division of the processes of civilization as a large lump of arbitrary fiction worked up with a very minute leaven of truth. It is here that the author of the Vestiges, in receiving M. Comte's distribution of human progress, looks at it from a very different point of view. He is a dogmatic, and not a positive philosopher; he reasons not by the process of induction, but by that ante-Baconian method of Analogy which unites the forms of imperfect induction with the essence of illegitimate deduction; he does not stop at the phenomena, but proposes to reveal the law of their production by a theory constructed *a priori*; he is not content with the indications of the facts in nature, but endeavours to subordinate them to a purely ideal theory. He thus falls into the vulgar error* of mistaking the subjective processes of his own fancy for the laws of the universe; and thus, although more frequently indebted to M. Comte than he supposes, yet he is entirely severed from his school, and contemplates in a very different light every position which he borrows from him. Thus, although the three eras of history are derived from the Positive Philosophy, they are contemplated in a somewhat different manner in the Vestiges, and enter into that system of complicate triplicities which, without being wholly original, are so eminently characteristic of the work. We will not repeat the exposure of this division which we formerly gave, but will only remark that the three processes to which they are linked in the Vestiges, are, in plain language, divested of the appearance of mystery and profundity with which they have been clothed, nothing more than action, reaction, and combination, constituting thus a natural and almost necessary procedure, but one which is neither distinctive, nor characteristic, nor peculiar.†

It deserves to be noted that the series of terms, supposed to be equivalent in the extract made above, reveals by no means that identity or accordance which would permit their indiscriminate substitution for each other. Nor is the arrangement "spontaneously natural" or "methodically convenient," except so far as it may be natural; for it can hardly be supposed to have been spontaneous to the author of the Vestiges, and convenient merely for the purposes of his own preconceived method. All that follows in regard to the logical organization of the mind conceiving, with the changes which are rung upon that tune, signifies simply that knowledge results from the agency of a mind capable of knowing, and the existence of ob-

* So characterized by Mill. Logic, book v, § 3, p. 459.

† Hence he falls into all the fallacies resulting from erroneous and defective classification.

jects capable of being known. Surely the truism, so disguised, so quaintly bedecked, so elaborately and variously expressed, as if almost beyond the reach of ordinary comprehension, is not so strange or so incompatible with the various other expositions of the intelligible universe, that it can become the foundation of a novel or exclusive system. So much for the statement of the thesis.

But let us proceed with the subject that we may escape from this bed of thorns, *ut omnes istos aculeos et tortuosum genus disputandi relinquamus*: let us examine the premise, postulate, inference, induction or fact, which forms the corner-stone of the explanation of the theory of the Vestiges. As the object of the work is to develop the whole phenomena of civilization and creation by the uniform operation of a single law, and as the character of this law is assumed to be the triple distinction, the threefold evolution, and the ternary complication—(we can play on the triangle too)—of the same fundamental principle, thus revealing the triune harmony and progression which pervade all the phenomena of the universe, and constitute the essence of the system, the first step to be taken is to establish the point of departure, the unit or atom from which all these methodical harmonies are to proceed. The task, it will be recognised, is similar to that proposed to himself, but not completed by Schelling, though pursued in a very different spirit and by dissimilar means. If the purpose had been to construct a system by legitimate induction, to arrive at the ultimate unity of the laws of nature by progressive generalizations, the diversities of external phenomena and the reciprocal affinities of physical laws must have been the first objects of attention, and this was the procedure of Comte, though without entertaining any such transcendental ideas. But as the method to which the temper of the author's mind inclined him was the process of theoretic construction, it was necessary to begin at the other end of the line, and hence we arrive at another reason, recognised or instinctive, for the order in which the parts of the Vestiges are arranged. Thus the work naturally commences with the loose examination of the mind, which is to constitute the type, and furnish the law for all ulterior developments. The triune character of the mind must be first established, or its unity asserted, and any arbitrary distinction will afterwards supply the triple complication desired. The unity needed is found by the reduction of all the intellectual faculties to one "sole intellectual faculty"—perception—"so to speak, the monad of mind, and consequently the common denominator of civilization."* We might ask why

* Vestiges, § 13, p. 42.

"consequently?" and why "the common denominator?" but we will not stop to make these inquiries.

If we examine the *exposé* of the Vestiges, we shall find that the reduction of all the faculties of the mind to one, and to this particular one especially, and the limitation of all its various modes to a single specific type, is neither accurate in itself, nor capable of affording the advantages sought from it. In the first place, it proceeds upon an entire misconception of the nature and meaning of a faculty which is not a distinct entity, but simply a difference of form in the operation. The author's etymological tastes might have rendered him some service here. In the next place, the unity of the intellect has never been denied, so far as we are aware, except by such men as Paracelsus and Van Helmont; and the author's process merely substitutes the term Perception for Intellect, the specific manifestation for the acting cause, thus unwarrantably producing a needless multiplication of equivalent terms. Moreover, the alleged varieties of Perception are just as truly diversities of thought as the faculties which he has attempted to cashier: his argument thus leads him to the same conclusion which it was designed to subvert. It is, too, a very forced construction of the term Perception to require it to subserve the new functions assigned to it. It is true that the word is, with the possible exception of the term Idea, the most slippery and intractable in the whole vocabulary of metaphysics; but this is no recommendation for its new employment. The acute criticism of Sir William Hamilton has nearly succeeded in banishing it from the metaphysical nomenclature as a useless and officious go-between, which, like all intermeddlers, was only calculated to produce embarrassment and misunderstanding. Yet this very phrase, so illusory in its vague and multitudinous usages, so unnecessary in all but the most restricted acceptation, is now recalled as a maid-of-all-work, and is dilated, amplified, and mystified by this author, until the indefinite latitude of its new signification is utterly at variance with its ordinary meaning, and it is converted into an exact synonym with mind. It is only by the consolidation of all the clouds of meaning, which float like a hazy halo around the central idea involved in the term, and by a most untechnical and unauthorized employment of it, that it can be applied in any such way; and then, instead of introducing simplification, it carries its own misty vagueness into the whole realm which it is designed to regulate, systematize, and rule. Yet, notwithstanding this characteristic nebulosity, and with all its advantages for confused speculation, and its inaptitude for accurate reasoning, it is actually employed as the attenuation of the idea of sensation, furnishing the *substratum* for a shadowy creed, for which sensation

is too metaphysical, as representing an apparent entity or function of an entity. It is intended, at the same time that it usurps the throne of mind, to be also a sublimation—a vaporization—of the notion of sensation, and to represent the mere phenomenal act of relation between the thing knowing and the thing known, which is coarsely designated by materialistic and other philosophers as the act of sensation. In the mental manhood of the nineteenth century has the intellect dwindled into this mere shadow of itself? The human mind, according to the French philosophers, had been regarded as a too mystical entity, a too fiery particle, and was by them degraded into mere animalized sensation. It is now evaporated into the simple phenomenon of sensation—the mere relation between the thing knowing and the thing known, thus showing how the mysticism of idealism may be transmuted into the mysticism of empiricism; so closely analogous to the earlier excess, both in form and appearance, as to be spectral in both extremes. Thus the vestiges of former errors are revived as the land-marks of succeeding generations; and the resemblance of the two might excite surprise, if we did not know that the diminution of gravitation was equal at equal distances on both sides of the centre of gravity; and that negative and positive distances, or distances measured in opposite directions, were identically the same.

Such is the unity which is received as the corner-stone of the Vestiges. When we note the manner in which the author attempts to establish it,* we shall discover that the argument is as invalid and unwarrantable as the result. There is throughout an entire *ignoratio elenchi*. The identity of the agent is assumed as proof of the identity of its actions; the unity of the mind regarded as evidence of the unity of its processes. By this mode of reasoning the leaf, the flower, and the fruit would be demonstrated to be the same, because produced by one and the same vital energy.

The Perception thus inducted as the original germ and unit of the whole contemplated series, by its very looseness and vagueness lends itself readily to the scheme of the author; and by an easy selection of a certain definite number of mental operations, and their reference to perception as a type, a table of triads is promptly drawn up, and the first round in the ladder of the theory is secured. In the words of this writer—

“Perception passes progressively, and in consequence of the constant effort to simplify the phenomenal world into harmony with its own unity, through—

1st (series,) Sensation :	Memory :	Imagination.
2d Reflection :	Abstraction :	Generalization.
3d Reasoning :	Comparison :	Method.”†

* Vestiges, § 9, pp. 35, 36.

† Vestiges, § 3, p. 47.

According to the Vestiges, Perception is the sole faculty of the mind, hence the equivalent of the mind; and the signification of the above declaration is, that the mind, in its endeavour to harmonize the diversities of nature with its own unity, passes through the series indicated; or, in other words, constructs this scheme for the gratification of its own caprices, or the satisfaction of its own desires. The asseveration then simply amounts to this, that the scheme is an ideal one—a mere cobweb of the brain, efficient to catch flies, but not potent enough to fetter the universe. The table itself is open to its own objections. What sort of affinity is there between Perception and the act or faculty of Abstraction, or between Perception and the process of Reasoning? Why may we not add another term to each of these series—to the first, Conception; to the second, Judgment; to the third, Comprehension?—or interpose this triad in the list as a new series? The table is evidently incomplete; it does not furnish the full catalogue of mental processes; it classifies and distributes them erroneously, as in making Comparison a step beyond Reasoning, of which it is one of the principal elements. In fact, the scheme is a mere artifice, presenting by its apparent regularity the presumption of validity, but in no respect comporting with either the conditions of truth, or the actual necessities of the problem. It is just such a piece of verbal miracle-mongering as might amuse an idle audience, but could hardly beguile a reflecting man, not misled by the seductions of a theory.

We have no intention to advance further in the consideration of this novel system, although it would be as easy to destroy the fantastic edifice as it was easy to construct it. In both cases *ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte*. In consideration of his reverence for French, we give the author the benefit of the French proverb. But it is not our purpose to examine the scheme, simply because we have not the time, and do not deem it requisite. We have shown the invalidity of the author's logic, the fallacy of his premises and procedure, the entire absence of anything having the character of proof as of anything entitled to be considered as evidence of the special thesis proclaimed; and if we refuse to attack the system itself, thus left entirely without support, the fortress is not the less effectually reduced because we decline to draw the plough over the lines of its crumbling walls.

We will only say of the theory, as of the reasoning by which it is maintained, that it is a strange and hybrid production—a curious cross between the Transcendentalism of Schelling and the Positivism of Comte. The aim is derived from Comte, the spirit is an

emanation from the German school; the form belongs to the type of the ideal philosophies of nature, but occasional suggestions, details, and principles are derived from the *Cours de Philosophie Positive*. It is singular, again, that the Messianisme of Hoëné Wronski is never once mentioned by this author—singular in more respects than one. The system of the Vestiges is, indeed, rather analogous to the Messianisme than identical with it, inasmuch as the latter contemplates the reëdification and sublimation of Christianity, the former its extinction; but both presuppose as implicit principles the proposed results of their doctrines, and the line of the argument, the style of the reasoning, and the convolutions of the scheme in accordance with the triplicities of a mathematical law, are strikingly similar. There is the same triadic progression of apparently identical processes; the same recognition of mathematics not merely as the most certain science, but as the one science—the type, instrument, creator, and embodiment of all the sciences*—and the same design to construct through its agency the one absolute and universal science.† If, under these circumstances,—and the parallelism might be much extended,—if the author of the Vestiges has not studied M. Wronski's speculations, as we are disposed to believe from all appearances that he has not done, this spontaneous and unconscious coincidence in systematic error is certainly remarkable. It may, however, with the corresponding theories of Poe and Stallo, reveal the licentious tendencies of modern intellectual speculation, and prove that the recurrence to the ante-Baconian processes must result in the resurrection of the dreams of the Scholastics. If, as we do not suspect, the author of the Vestiges has pondered over the mathematical abysses and inextricable confusion of the *Philosophie Absolue*, his failure to mention the triumph of his penetration in mastering the intricate uniformity and systematic perplexity of the Messianisme would be even more surprising. In either case, there is nothing half so miraculous in the affinities of Telesio and Campanella as in the agreement of the Investigator and Hoëné Wronski.

The contrast between the purposes of these authors is as remarkable as their analogies. M. Wronski proposes that each individual should philosophically evolve his own Paraclete and effectuate his own salvation; the author of the Vestiges indulges the hope that every rational man will disown scientifically "the traditional dictates of a farrago of nursery-tales imagined two or three thousand years ago by a handful of scrofulous barbarians, the refuse of the ancient and

* Vestiges, § 31, p. 116.

† Vestiges, § 34, p. 130; § 54, p. 194.

the ridicule of the modern world."* It would be an easy office to us to censure in stronger, because more appropriate and legitimate, language, such glaring improprieties of thought and expression, but we refrain from doing so for reasons which we shall soon state; and, if an author of such high talent and such vigour of intellect condescends to defile his work by substituting Billingsgate for argument, and by mistaking blasphemy for profundity, we will let it pass without rebuke—it shall surely have its own reward. But we were noticing the contrast between the Messianisme and the Vestiges, a contrast which produces a notable result. M. Wronski undertakes to generate from human reason a God: the author of the Vestiges to construct from human experience a new organism. M. Comte had endeavoured to elaborate and introduce a new religion—the worship of Humanity—and to elevate Humanity to divine honours—"le véritable Grand-Etre"—"le nouvel Etre Suprême." The Vestiges, herein following in the footsteps of the Positive Philosophy, but deviating slightly from its course, converts the shadowy Jupiter, the phenomenal divinity of Positivism, into a reality, and recognises in the same humanity, or aggregate collection of all men, a new, separate, and individual existence†—thus taking his stand at the pole opposite to M. Wronski. The error of both the Vestiges and the Positive System is virtually identical with the ancient delusion of endowing the universe with an *anima mundi*, and regarding the earth as an animated mass; and arises in both instances from the same disposition to hypostatize generalizations and abstractions, though the burthen of the complaint with M. Comte and this anonymous writer is directed against this fallacy.

"But half of our solemn task is done," and yet we hasten to a close. We have left the system of the Vestiges entirely untouched; we have exhibited but a slight portion of the general and characteristic defects of the work; and we have certainly not attempted to gather even the tithe of the errors, the mistakes, the fallacies, or the fantasies which distinguish the details. Yet our censure has run to such a length, and has hurried over so many and such grave topics, that some explanation seems requisite to justify the praise which we have at times bestowed upon the treatise, and the eulogy and respect with which we have always spoken of the author.

Glancing through the mists and clouds of this untenable speculation, steal every now and then brilliant glimpses of a brighter, clearer, purer heaven of thought beyond, where the mind of the author is

* Vestiges, § 144, p. 353. Such unworthy indecorum—to say no more—is of constant recurrence.

† Vestiges, § 47, p. 184.

no infrequent visitant, though lost and bewildered in the fogs amongst which he has proposed to fix his abode. Sincere confidence in human progress, earnest aspirations for the greater perfection of man, a high-toned morality, and a chivalrous purity of sentiment, though sadly dashed with impropriety in the expression, break strangely across the gloom in which he has chosen to invest himself, and form quaint but favourable contrasts with his system. Such traits justify the belief, that however far he may have wandered from the truth, the light which led his steps astray was light from heaven. Moreover, there is a constant, though not continuous, display of genius of no common order: a singular perspicacity in seizing and unravelling the smaller knots and tangles which fetter the intellect: much original observation and valuable suggestion in points incidental; and a critical acumen, with a depth of comprehension, not often rivalled. His criticisms on the great authors of this and former ages, and on their positions, are eminently acute and, in the main, just, and afford the best evidence with which he has furnished us of his genuine ability and real powers. His comments upon Aristotle, Bacon, Comte, Mill, &c., reveal a higher order of talent than the whole elaboration of his system. We have read and re-read them with care and profit; and we cannot refuse to accord to their author, however erratic, singular vigour of intellect, although we protest against his heretical opinions and reject his chimerical scheme.

Of the tendency of that scheme and those opinions we have said nothing; it may be easily understood. We have, in some measure, avoided speaking on the subject as it is so intimately connected with the undiluted infidelity of the work, to which we have so far barely alluded, and which we were reluctant to discuss. The *Vestiges of Civilization* is deliberately and conspicuously infidel, but it is negatively and inferentially rather than positively and dogmatically so. It does not formally attack Christianity and religion, but it continually sneers at both, and implicitly assumes or boldly asserts throughout that they are the follies and puerilities of a bygone age, which are virtually cashiered among all reflecting men. In our reply we have endeavoured neither to assert nor assume the opposite—not from any indifference or lukewarmness on this subject, not from the fear of assailing a fallacy and presumption weaker even than the system by which they were supposed to be sustained, and more untenable than the logic by which the theory was developed, but for very different reasons. In the first place, we would not stoop to reply to ridicule or irony: if the author so far forgot himself as to deal in sneers, we would not lower our own dignity and self-respect so

far as to refute them. But our forbearance has been chiefly due to the conviction that the dereligionized philosophy of the day, which is becoming almost universal, must be encountered and overthrown on its own chosen field of battle, and principally, if not entirely, by the assistance of that metaphysical and scientific reason which is the weapon of offence. To grapple fairly with it, and secure a candid judgment, we must fight with equal arms, denying ourselves the use of that celestial armour, which, while impenetrable in reality itself, might render us invulnerable, and, like the divine armour of ancient fiction, might be asserted by our adversaries to render us intangible and invisible also. There is, in reality, no common measure of truth between the Christian philosophers and the scientific sceptics of the day, unless the former lay aside for a while their panoply of religious faith in the discussion. The two parties stand in different and not even intersecting planes, and thus, while vigorously making passes and dealing trenchant blows at each other, they actually do nothing more than fruitlessly beat the air with the savage acrimony and blood-thirsty ardour of theatrical combatants. As our assailants cannot ascend to our level, we must descend to theirs. Moreover, we confess that they have some right to ask this at our hands, for any argument which rests mainly on a Christian or religious basis is, so far as it is a reply to these antagonists, unfair or inoperative. Such an argument is addressed merely to those who already entertain a fixed belief in Christianity, and therefore presupposes without examination the validity and exclusive sufficiency of the Christian proof, and by a like prejudgment is conceived to establish the falsehood and deception of the antagonistic doctrine. It thus becomes at once an *argumentum ad hominem* and an *argumentum ad verecundiam*, and is tainted with the fallacious consequences incident to both. Moreover, it meets with consideration and credence only from those already within the Christian camp, and then not from any appreciation of its real strength, but from its accordance with inherent and unanalyzed convictions, and from repugnance to contradictory views. But it cannot for one moment secure the attention, or invite the candid examination of either the leaders or the partisans of opposing schools, and has no tenacious hold on the large class that may be indifferent to religion, may enjoy its embarrassments, or even discomfiture, and may be inclined by the natural downward tendency to sink into the more terrestrial sphere of the enemies of religion. For these reasons, which have regulated our conduct on former occasions, we have been anxious to eliminate as completely as possible the religious aspects of the controversy, and to leave these to be determined rather by way of

inference from the general tenor and results of our reasoning, than by either positive demonstration or implication in its data or development. Let us add, too, for the admission is just and required by candour, that as the validity of the Christian faith is the point ultimately and virtually in issue in the whole discussion, however chary either party may be of stating this as the proposed *exitus* of the question, it is a grave logical offence, being no less than a *petitio principii* of the coarsest character, to use the assumption of Christian truth or its demonstration *aliunde* in any of the preliminary discussions, before the merits of the great pending controversies may be settled on their own distinctive principles, philosophical or scientific. For these reasons we have been willing to meet the assaults of human reason with its own weapons, without hurling back either ecclesiastical censures or theological anathemas.

We firmly believe that, even within the domain of human science and philosophy, all the attacks of the enemies of the Christian religion may be successfully met and repelled, and overwhelming proof may be produced that those attacks spring not from the strength, but from the weakness of human reason; not from the abundance of knowledge, but from its imperfections. Such a defence must, on their own principles, be considered, received, and acknowledged by our adversaries, while we escape the peril and, perhaps, the sacrilege of laying an unhallowed hand upon the ark itself. A victory thus obtained, and entitled to be admitted by our antagonists themselves, must be more satisfactory to all parties than a doubtful triumph, clamorously proclaimed by one and strenuously denied by the other.

ART. IV.—GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL SCIENCE.

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It is matter of surprise, if not of reproach, to the intelligence of New-York, that the place should have remained so long vacant in the circle of our literary and scientific institutions which the Society now under consideration proposes to occupy. With the bold spirit of our navigators, vexing every sea, and the flag of our commerce waving in every port of the known world; with our Exploring Expedition at the expense of the government, and our Arctic Expedition, set on foot by private munificence; with our Coast Survey, our National Observatory, and our Smithsonian

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Institution; with our hundred Colleges, and our Military and Naval Academies, and our hundred Foreign Missionaries; with our fifteen Quarterly Reviews, and our scores of Monthly Magazines, and our thousand newspapers, it is only within the present year that the kindred sciences of Geography and Statistics have a National Society and a Bulletin to promote their cultivation and extend the knowledge of their achievements.

Geography is the science of the earth, as the abode of man. Statistics is the science of the life of man developed upon the earth. Such is the comprehensive field which lies before the new Society. Whatever inquiries or discussions, whatever new information or new conclusions, may relate to these subjects or come within these limits—all this knowledge comes fairly within its scope, and may increase the interest of its labours, and the value of its results, and the honour of its future career. The Royal Geographical Society of London is one of the most distinguished in the great circle of scientific associations which enrich and adorn that great metropolis. The Geographical Society of Paris is famous for the variety and the value of its publications. The Imperial Geographical Society of St. Petersburg, the similar societies in nearly every European capital, the Geographical and Statistical Society of Mexico, ought long ago to have aroused the savans of New-York to the importance of systematic efforts to promote sciences so interesting, and to diffuse knowledge so necessary; but as it may be never too late to do well, we wish to welcome the new Society, and to speak a word of encouragement to its promoters. They have a noble field for their labours; the materials already available are ample, and there are abundant opportunities to extend their inquiries, to gather knowledge in new regions, or to complete the surveys of what is already partially known. And nothing but their own lack of diligence or perseverance, of intelligence or industry, of learning or sagacity, can prevent them from winning their Society a place in the front rank among our public institutions. Hitherto, the scientific study of geography among us has been left in a great degree to the compilers of school-books, and that of statistics to the almanac-makers. We trust the new Society will be able to enlist a multitude of inquisitive and cultivated minds in the cultivation of branches of knowledge, whose value, we regret to say, is still but imperfectly appreciated in our country. Indeed, we may say that we know not of any sciences, of equal interest and value, which have been so little cultivated among us.

Geography is the science of the homes of all mankind; and statistics is the science of the mode and means of human life, and

its results. The cultivation of these sciences is essential to the consummation of human brotherhood. We meet men in the street and in the market-place, and we know them as human beings; but we can hardly recognise them as acquaintances, or esteem them as friends, unless we have seen them at home, and know where and how they live—their geography and statistics. The same is true of nations. It is wonderful to consider how different an interest we feel in the case of those nations with whose country and habits we are tolerably familiar, as England or France, and those of which we know but very little, as Japan or Madagascar.

We have all learned something of geography in our school-days, but we find in after life that this knowledge is extremely superficial. Let any country become, for the time, as nearly every known country in fact becomes in its turn the theatre of important events, and we soon find how superficially we understand the details of its geography. We then need new helps to make our knowledge of its topography and other geographical incidents specific and available for the understanding of passing events.

It is generally supposed that the period of geographical discovery is past, and that the geography of the world is all settled. But this is not so. There are large portions of the earth that are yet wholly unknown and unvisited by civilized men, as the interior of the continents of Africa and New-Holland; and considerable portions of the great islands of the East, as well as parts of both Americas. How many important discoveries in geography have been made within the last twenty years? And who shall solve the riddle of the North-West Passage, or of the sources of the Nile?

But without dwelling on this view, there is yet a vast work for geography to do, in making our acquaintance with countries accurate and familiar. Let it be borne in mind that the running of the boundary line between the territories of the United States and Mexico has been rendered totally impossible by a blunder in the treaty, based on a blunder in what was supposed by the negotiators to be the most authentic map extant. Even our own Empire State has never been surveyed, or measured, or mapped, with any reliable accuracy. A topographical map of New-York, grounded on a trigonometrical survey and measurement, is a great desideratum. We may venture to affirm that no skill or study, with plots and field-books, would suffice to lay down all the farms in the State according to their recorded boundaries; but the titles would be found to overlap here and there, making fat jobs for the lawyers in carrying forward that most ruinous species of litigation which concerns the boundaries of estates. A thorough survey and a

reliable map concerns the interest of every landholder in the State—saying nothing of the advantages to roads, mill-sites, and all public improvements, or the minute topographical knowledge which might be gathered during the prosecution of such a survey. The Society before us will well justify its formation, if it can help to stir up the legislature to make provision for the commencement of this survey. New-York owes it to her position and her resources, and the intelligence and enterprise of her people, to take measures for a survey and map which shall surpass in accuracy and completeness those of any other state or country.

Of how few countries do the materials exist for a full description or an accurate delineation! The list of places is by no means large, of which the latitude and longitude has been ascertained with sufficient precision for the higher purposes of astronomy. Only a very small part of the earth's surface has been subjected to the primary trigonometrical survey. To explore the still unknown, and to complete our knowledge of the partially known, presents a great work to be done before the world can even be mapped with reasonable accuracy.

But it is a most inadequate conception of the science of geography, to limit it to a knowledge of the surface of the earth, as it may be explored by a surveyor and delineated on a map. Geography, in its higher sense, takes the most perfect map as but the ground-plan, on which it constructs a delineation of all the physical qualities that affect the condition of mankind, the vegetable and animal growth, the races and characteristics of the people, and the political institutions and social arrangements of nations. Its high aim is the improvement of man's moral nature, by enlarging his knowledge of the homes and lives of his fellow-men. The new Society has a right to expect the countenance and favour of every friend of humanity and every friend of science, and to receive the coöperation of all those classes who enjoy special opportunities of observation, or possess special qualifications for generalization or description.

The science of statistics is almost unbroken ground among the great body of our intelligent citizens. Look among the legislators of the nation, and those of the several States, and see how few there are of them who are able to arrange into a statistical table any considerable number of the facts which they are called to act upon in regard to a given subject, or to judge of the value of an argument based on statistical tables, so as to detect the latent fallacy, or to feel a mathematical certainty in the conclusion. Experienced statisticians compare all quantities and numbers by centesimals; that is, the

increase or decrease is so much per cent., or one number is so much per cent. of another. And this centesimal proportion comes by use to convey as definite ideas as are derived by a statement and comparison in the ordinary weights or measures, by pounds, yards, or gallons. Instead of saying that 48 is four-fifths of 60, the statist says it is 80 per cent. If you add 9 to 45, making 54, it is an increase of 20 per cent.; but if you take 9 from 54, leaving 45, it is a decrease of 16.6 per cent. That is, you divide the difference, decimal-wise, by the number which you reckon *from*. An increase of 100 per cent. makes the number double; while a decrease of 100 per cent. takes away the whole. Yet we have seen well-educated men puzzled inextricably in making the simplest calculations, and never knowing certainly whether their results are reliable or not. Again, we see numbers or quantities compared in this way—the two are in the proportion of 217 to 448, which leaves a very indistinct idea, when you get a much clearer impression by saying that one is 44 per cent. of the other.

The crudities and inaccuracies of the United States census of 1840 have long been a source of mortification to scholars, and of mistakes to politicians and legislators. For instance, the footings of the census presented a monstrous disproportion of idiots and insane persons among the free coloured population of the northern States; and some pathetic conclusions were drawn therefrom in regard to the deplorable condition of those people, with profound disquisitions concerning the causes of so sad calamities. The importance of the results led some gentlemen to reëxamine the data; and, on tracing the population tables back to their elements, it was found that the whole apparent excess was caused by the blunders of clerks in transferring figures to the wrong columns, by which it was made to appear that in some instances there were more blacks insane and idiotic than the whole number in the section. And yet we have seen, within a year or two, respectable journals and periodicals reproducing the same awful statistics and reaffirming the same sad conclusions, just as if the blunders had never been exposed.

Although it must be admitted that considerable advancement has been made, during the intervening ten years, in the cultivation of statistical knowledge, it is plain that the present condition of the census of 1850 affords us nothing to boast of. It is not our province to decide where the blame or discredit ought to rest; but the fact that, after the lapse of two years and a half, and the expenditure of vast sums of money, the public can only obtain a few of the alleged general results, without any knowledge of the data

on which they are based, proves that there must be either great neglect or gross incompetency somewhere. One thing is very plain to our judgment, to wit, that the general government, in undertaking to procure complete statistical returns, has attempted more than its machinery is fitted to accomplish. Hereafter we hope that Congress will confine its inquiries to the census of population, leaving the statistics of industry and property to the care of the State legislatures, whose functions better admit of these minute inquiries. If the labours of the new Society shall be successful in extending a love for statistical inquiries, by setting examples of their usefulness, and furnishing materials for the prosecution of such studies, it will render a good service in promoting the diffusion of useful knowledge.

Too long have we been contented with general impressions, that this or that thing is a great deal bigger than another, and that events of one class are more frequent than others. Let us learn to know what we know; so that we can answer the questions, how many? how much? how long? how far? how often? and make an exact comparison of causes and results, in regard to all the modes and means of human life and action.

A scholar of the last age called "geography and chronology the two eyes of history;" but we submit that, for the philosophical study of history, for the comparison of events, their causes and consequences, the help of chronology is far inferior in value to that of statistics. The mere time when an event took place is of much less moment than the number and resources of the people among whom it occurred, and the position and extent of the theatre on which they acted. Take, for instance, the history of the middle ages; and how much light is thrown upon it by a clear idea of political geography and its changes in those times. And what a vast interest is added to the study of physical geography by the lectures of Professor Guyot, in comparing and classifying the physical structure of countries, and thus accounting for the characters and destinies of the people who inhabit them.

In a word, we fully endorse the seasonableness of this new movement, at least so far as to say that it is high time it was made, and it is a wonder it had not been made before. Looking at the list of managers, with our national historian, George Bancroft, at their head, we are sure they do not lack either competency or fidelity for the discharge of their duties. We hope they will succeed, through the resident foreign consuls among us, in securing for their library the most important geographical and statistical documents of other governments; and, through the proper officers at home, all the

important publications of our own National and State governments. We hope they will receive the ready coöperation of our literary men, travellers, and foreign missionaries, in making the Society the *medium* of publication of their new discoveries, their important information, their expanded commercial, philanthropic, or scientific views, on subjects german to the objects of the Society. We hope they will receive, when they need it, a liberal patronage from the merchant-princes of the land, in the means of procuring all such maps, globes, books of reference, and other apparatus of investigation and illustration, as may be needful to secure the highest efficiency of their labours.

The first number of the Society's Bulletin, now before us, is well arranged and handsomely printed, well filled, and affords a fair pledge of future success. We are struck with the evidence it affords of the prospective value of the Society's labours in promoting both the commercial interests of the country and the general advancement of humanity and religion. The article of Mr. Hopkins on Paraguay, delivered in this city last January, before the fall of the tyrant Rosas was known in this country, was largely prophetic of results and developments in regard to the opening of that river to foreign commerce, which are now history. The second Bulletin is to be made up of the elaborate and truly valuable Memoir on the Geography and Statistics of the Republic of New-Granada, presented to the Society by General Mosquera, the distinguished ex-president of that country. In listening, for three successive meetings, to that important paper, we could hardly tell which impressed us most: the ability and value of the production itself, as a contribution to the objects of the Society; or the extraordinary fact that a man of arms, whose best years had been spent in the military service of his country, should have found time to collect such a store of knowledge, so scientifically digested, in regard to every branch of his subject; or the spectacle of the ex-president of a neighbouring Spanish republic labouring with so pure and wise a patriotism to advance the best interests of his own country, by drawing to it new and multiplied sympathies from ours.

We earnestly bid the Society Godspeed on its course. Science is of no nation, of no sect, of no party. The welfare of all peoples is advanced by their knowing each other more perfectly. Let our friends be encouraged to lay their plans on a large scale, as building for mankind and for future ages.

ART. V.—M'CULLOH ON THE SCRIPTURES.

Analytical Investigations concerning the Credibility of the Scriptures, and of the Religious System inculcated in them; together with a Historical Exhibition of Human Conduct during the several dispensations under which mankind have been placed by their Creator. By J. H. M'CULLOH, M. D. 2 vols., 8vo. Baltimore, 1852.

SINCE the days of our Lord's personal ministry, his disciples have altered the shibboleth of Christianity. The test question is not now, "*Simon Peter, lovest thou me?*" but, "*Simon Peter, thinkest thou as I do?*" Unless the answer be clearly and decidedly affirmative, there is but cold welcome to the Master's vineyard—no excellence of piety is a sufficient offset to variant opinions, even about things the most abstruse and difficult of determination. No superiority of understanding compensates, in its admirable conclusions, for unlawful speculations upon subjects concerning which men have done little else than speculate from the beginnings of thought. "Venerable Bede," says John Newton, "after giving a high character of some contemporary, adds, '*But, unhappy man, he did not keep Easter our way.*'"

Dr. M'Culloh must expect similar treatment to that which has ever been meted out to men of his kind. None who read his book can doubt his piety, or his honest, earnest purpose to accomplish what he conscientiously believes to be the work which is given him to do. The book displays upon every page the single-mindedness of a Christian man, devoting uncommon intellectual powers to the attainment and dissemination of the truth. Yet the results of his investigations, as he has determined them, as a whole, are not in full accordance with the entire views of any one of the many Christian denominations, and consequently, whatever these may think of one another, they all will agree that our author is a heretic; for to be a heretic, is but to differ from themselves. It may be expected that clergymen, regularly trained in schools of divinity, will superciliously glance over the index, and pronounce the presumptuous layman a dangerous intermeddler with theological science; and that many good people, responding to the pastoral warning, will cry out "*Simon Magus*" as lustily as though they could comprehend the matter, or could of their own knowledge give a consistent statement of the plan of salvation, or any valid reason for their faith in the Scriptures.

To say the truth, the author of this work has given mortal offence

to a host of stalwart antagonists, in whom the *odium theologicum* is far from being impaired by time, or tempered by the vaunted liberality of the age. The Papists will curse him by their gods for his masterly exposure of the rottenness which underlies all the gilding and varnish of a thousand years of decoration. Episcopalians will pour upon him whatever of bitterness frequent discharges may have left in their capacious receptacles of gall; for no man has so pitilessly and effectually swung the axe to the root of hierarchical pretensions, or so complacently torn away the antique silver veil from the face of the ecclesiastical Mokanna, so long venerated as Holy Catholic Church. Calvinists will never forgive his assaults upon their fundamental and precious dogma of damning original sin, nor Arminians forget his impatience of preventing grace. Trinitarians will be shy of the companionship of the unruly spirit that declines the use of their favourite phrase, and Unitarians will curl the lip in scorn at his fervent faith in the redemption through the blood of Jesus. Each will fear to commend what he approves, lest he be suspected of allowing what he condemns; and all will be satisfied to sacrifice the good which is common to others, if they may prevent the evil special to themselves. A book must have a more than feline vitality to maintain its existence when its enemies are all eager to destroy, and its friends all afraid to deliver.

We are Methodists. After all our reading and hearing and thinking, we have found no form of doctrine more acceptable to our understanding than that delivered to us by John Wesley. Not that we suppose him to have found a solvent for all previous insolubles, and crystallized out of his solution a pure and determinate truth, accurate in all its angles and smooth upon all its facets. Himself has taught us better. The boldest and sincerest of evangelical eclectics, he followed truth, without regard to the beaten paths of orthodoxy; and died at last far in advance of his creed, striving in vain to stretch the elastic symbols of the Church of England over the ground he had won from error and superstition. The temper of his mind may be inferred from a single golden precept, which should be treasured in the memory of every thinking man:—"Although every man necessarily believes that every particular opinion which he holds is true, (for to believe any opinion is not true is the same thing as not to hold it,) yet can no man be assured that all his own opinions, taken together, are true. Nay, every thinking man is assured they are not, seeing, *humanum est errare et nescire*, to be ignorant of many things and to mistake in some is the necessary condition of humanity. This, therefore, he is sensible is his own case. He knows, in general, that he himself is mistaken,

although in what particulars he mistakes he does not, perhaps he cannot, know."

If such be the case, (and who can doubt it, except the presumptuous man who, by doubting, proves himself a subject of the rule?) why should we form for ourselves a cast-iron theology, in which we must lie without the least liberty of motion, however pressed by its narrowness and galled by its inequalities? and why should we furiously resist the approaches of those who, whether able to do so or not, propose to make our bed more tolerable? God forbid that we should suppose it possible for us to be mistaken as to what He requires of men in order to their salvation, or that we should extend the hand of Christian fellowship to any one who may presume to teach things contrary to the positive declarations of Jehovah! There are precious doctrines too clearly revealed, and too essential to saving action, to be regarded as proper subjects for investigation. They are not *opinions*, more than the laws written upon tables of stone by the finger of God were the opinions of Moses and the Jews. They are elementary, essential truths, forever separated from the domain of *opinion*, and authoritatively declared by the Almighty. God's word is ultimate truth. As with the diamond, to analyze is to decompose and destroy it.

But connected with these few absolute teachings are many inferences and extended applications and conjectural speculations and philosophical explications more or less important, but the notions of which need not interfere between a man and his God—may not impede repentance, nor faith, nor holiness. About these we hold *opinions*, but we hold them modestly, under the advice of Mr. Wesley, that "as a whole they must be incomplete and erroneous;"—we hold them subject to instruction. We will reason about them, not quarrel for them. We are glad to compare them with the opinions of others, to correct them if we can, to make them a means of correction if we may, keeping always in view as a corrective to intemperate zeal another saying of Mr. Wesley: "Without holiness no man shall see the Lord; but I dare not add, *without clear ideas*."

Unfortunately it is precisely of these *opinions* that we are apt to be most tenacious, valuing them in proportion to the difficulty we have in defending and retaining them. It was so with the Jews of old, and there was a great deal of human nature in the Jews. They are an example to us, not as the children of Abraham, but as the children of Adam. The generation is far from being extinct of those who tithe mint and anise and neglect the weightier matters of the law, or whose system of theology makes the less certain the greater—the philosophy of man to comprehend and enclose the

religion of God. While we trust that we are as far from latitudinarianism as we pray God to keep us from bigotry, we feel that every man who loves the Lord with sincerity is our blood kin in Christ Jesus, and we will not deal harshly here with those with whom we hope to dwell happily hereafter. In such spirit we now proceed, as space will permit, to examine the work before us. The author's good temper shall be an example for our own, and his honesty will demand no apology for ours.

The first part of the work consists of an elaborate disquisition upon the fundamental subject in all Christian Theology, the credibility of the Scripture writers. Probably many will suppose this essay supererogatory. The divine authority of the Holy Books is now seldom openly attacked. By tacit consent the great multitude of people, learned and unlearned, who speak the English language, seem to have come to the conclusion that the Scriptures are true, and on the part of those whose feelings or offices cause them to watch over the orthodoxy of the multitude there is frequently considerable impatience of any discussion which may impel them to examine the grounds of their faith. Nor can it be concealed that this indisposition to excite the public mind to such examination is founded upon a correct knowledge of the baseless fabric of that faith which is almost universally a mere passive assent to the dogmas of tradition—in very few cases a rational conviction of the truth. Why, it is asked, shall we disturb the happy simplicity of that reliance which answers all the practical purposes of belief, and engender suspicion in order to beget faith? If people are satisfied that the Scriptures are true, what matters it whether the grounds of their satisfaction are well chosen or tenable?

The spirit which dictates these and similar expressions is one of fearful ignorance of the real condition of the public mind upon this all-important matter. There is a wide difference in the practical activity of a truth passively acquiesced in, and one attained by a process of inquiry and reflection. The hold of the former upon the understanding and the heart is feeble and fitful compared with the tenure of that which is valued as the result of toil, the achievement of the understanding, the happy settlement of vexed questions whose agitation has roused every faculty of the mind, and stirred every feeling of the heart. The great multitude, who assent to the authority of Scripture because they know no reason to the contrary, remain, as we see every day, to a most lamentable extent uninfluenced by its teachings, utterly heedless of its solemn declarations. But when did a man become a Christian from investigation of the claims of Christianity without bowing his mind and soul to its authority?

Under the uniform appearance of assent there is in reality much doubt and perplexity, and that, too, in the minds of truly pious men and women. Some persons must think; it is a law of their intellectual nature, and they cannot always stifle a doubt in ejaculatory prayer, or avoid inquiry by fleeing it as temptation. Their minds are a continual battle-ground for the maintenance of the fundamental principles upon which they are labouring to build a secure superstructure. Like the Jews of old, they are compelled to toil at the walls of Jerusalem with a weapon in one hand and a tool in the other. Again, to what but this defect of intelligent faith among the people can we attribute the amazing facility with which even the pious are deluded by the absurd religions and clumsy trickeries which seem, from time to time, to be thrown out upon the earth by the Arch-mocker, as satanic comments upon the sagacity and piety of the age? How is it that the apostles of Mormonism and Swedenborg and Mesmer, and even the mountebanks who call themselves spiritual rappers, are so frequently successful over the faith of Christians? Simply, because that faith had no root in the mind. It had merely been placed upon the understanding—it had never penetrated it.

We consider this part of the work before us as well timed, and certainly it is very ably executed. The author has fully vindicated the sagacity of a late British writer, who declared that no satisfactory work upon this subject could be written, except in the United States. He argues the credibility of the Scriptures upon the only sure principles, and we cannot anticipate that any honest man will read this argument and refuse to acknowledge the logical distinctions of the author. We only regret that the bulk of the work and the distasteful speculations it contains will always prevent its being read by the many to whom it would prove an intelligible and satisfactory argument.

The author commences by showing what the Scriptures profess to be, and what is the theory upon which they have been constructed. He contends that no investigation concerning their truth or falsehood can be rationally undertaken but by discussing them according to their own theory. The importance of this position is briefly shown by the absurd reasoning of Atheists and Deists, who have condemned the Scriptures upon abstract considerations, founded upon the supposition that the revelations made in them are contrary to the moral perfections and omnipotence of God.

Our author finds, in the simple circumstance that God has placed man in a probationary state, a satisfactory solution of the difficulties which philosophers and theologians have found in the application of God's nature to his government of mankind. Furnished with

this probationary key, Dr. M'Culloh thinks we may unlock all those fetters of the understanding, which, under the name of *original evil*, God's foreknowledge and permissive providence, have so long galled the restless minds of men, all the perplexity upon these subjects being due to defective comprehension of the nature and necessities of a probationary state. Upon this theory the Scriptures must be examined. Upon this they may fairly be interrogated, and upon this their replies are always triumphantly consistent. If man be in a state of probation, it is evident that all the phenomena exhibited in the physical, moral, intellectual, and social condition of mankind must be harmonious with such a probation. Even the position of the Deity towards the human race must be ascertained in view of this fundamental fact; for it is plain that if God should exercise the abstract excellencies of his perfection and providence towards them, they could by no possibility exert a free agency, and the conditions of the probationary state could not be fulfilled.

To correct what he considers a common mistake in the theory of probation, our author endeavours to show that this condition of man must not be regarded as at all operative upon the mind of the Deity. In the Doctor's view it amounts to nothing more than the simple fact, that, instead of making men perfect at once, God, for an ulterior purpose, has so constituted them, as intellectual and moral free agents, that he has left them to act as they may choose; at the same time announcing to them that those who will perfect themselves in righteousness, through the divine assistance freely offered to all, shall be made inheritors of an everlasting kingdom of righteousness and peace, while those who will not thus prepare themselves shall be cut off with an everlasting destruction. That mankind are free agents in the fullest sense, our author thinks to be involved in the fact that God has proposed a reward for the righteous, and declared a corresponding condemnation upon the wicked. In pursuing this subject he comes suddenly upon the Calvinists, whose theological see-saw he unceremoniously upsets, claiming them as actual believers in free agency whatever inconsistency there may be between their belief and their creed.

In connexion with this subject we find in the appendix an admirable article on the Nature of Motives, to which we would call the particular attention of those of our readers whose minds may have been perplexed by the subtleties of theologians upon this subject. We are free to confess that we have no disposition to pursue the study of truth beyond the limits of phenomenal exhibition. Of the possibility of a science of essences we are utter sceptics.

and therefore are never troubled to explain the ultimate modes of intellectual and spiritual life. Following up the phenomena of moral action, we arrive at a point where we must recognise an independent governing principle, an elementary will, not compounded of moral conditions, nor merely representing the intellectual circumstances of the man. This will is plainly recognised by the Almighty, and beyond it and above it He recognises nothing. The ingenious arguments against this independence of will are to us mere sophistries. Dr. M'Culloh has done good service by exposing the fallacy of the Necessitarians upon the subject of motives. We extract a few paragraphs of his article upon this subject:—

"But here I shall be told, by the advocates of the doctrine of necessity, that the will has no such liberty, whether in choosing its animal or intellectual gratifications; but that we are impelled by motives to take a particular course, which is always determined by the *strongest motive*, not by any free will or choice of our own.

"Now, however plausible this argument may seem, there cannot be the least difficulty in showing that it is a simple sophism, whose force consists in the equivocal meaning given to the term, *strongest motive*. Does it imply the wisest, the most prudent, most judicious, or most conscientious inducement for action? It does not imply any such meaning. The *strongest motive* of the Necessitarians implies that it is the *prevailing motive*, no matter whether it be good or bad, wise or foolish, beneficial or injurious. Since men are, undeniably, influenced by motives to act in some manner or other, so it does not signify what the character of the motive may be, that motive the Necessitarians assert is the strongest. But why strongest? Because it prevails. *Strongest motive*, then, is clearly synonymous with *prevailing motive*.

"The use of the word *strongest* is, then, a begging of the question, and its force, as an argument with the Necessitarians against the doctrine of free agency, lies in the equivocation of implying *prevailing*. As every action of man is induced by some motive or other, so some motive or other must *prevail* over other motives. This we all admit must be the case. The advocates of liberty insist the motive prevails according to the intelligent estimation we make on the subject, whether as a matter of gratification, advantage, or duty. The advocates of necessity say the motive prevails because it is the strongest. Now if they will define *strongest* to imply any other meaning than *prevailing*, it can be proved against them on all sides that men do not follow the strongest motive; and if they merely give it the significance of *prevailing*, then their argument amounts to this, that a man will follow whatever he will follow—that he will do whatever he will do; which is a conclusion that no one can deny, but which it would be absurd in the last degree to consider as justifying the doctrine of necessity.

"But we have a further objection to urge against this doctrine of the Necessitarians as respects the signification to be attached to the term *motive*, for their assumption as to its meaning is a palpable *petitio principii* that covers the whole ground of controversy. Thus the celebrated Jonathan Edwards, the most renowned advocate of the doctrine, says, in his 'Discourse on the Will,' that he means by the term *motive* 'the whole of that which moves, excites, or invites the mind to volition, whether that be one thing singly or many things conjointly.' The definition constitutes the radical fallacy of his whole work, for he uses the term as comprehending a variety of particulars that are not motives at all, as we now proceed to show."

We would gladly quote, for the gratification of our readers, the admirable argument which follows; but our limits will not permit us to do so. The exposition of the subject by Dr. M'Culloh is plain, logical, and satisfactory. He shows conclusively that human liberty is not the liberty of the slave,—

“Trusted with a muzzle, and enfranchised with a clog,”—

but a *bona fide* freedom, independent and responsible.

The probationary theory of the Scriptures being established, our author proceeds to inquire whether they are a revelation from Jehovah, or a fraudulent imposition upon mankind. Preparatory to this investigation, he exhibits the necessity of understanding the value or truth of the principles by which it is to be conducted. He utterly denies the propriety of the common assumptions upon which the origin and authority of the Holy Scriptures have hitherto been tested. Of these the most prominent is the postulate of the Deists, that God is absolutely excellent and perfect in certain attributes. To suffer them to assume this is to permit them to use the fundamental truths of revelation as truths, while with them they assail the very revelation upon whose validity they rest. For whether God exists in such perfections is exclusively a Scriptural dogma. It never has been and never can be ascertained by inspection of the external world, or observation of God's moral government. Whether God exists in such moral perfections and omnipotent power is a question which depends for answer upon the previous one of the credibility of the Scriptures, and cannot, therefore, be assumed by either party to the present controversy. If the Deists need this basis for an argument against revelation they must find it outside of revelation. The question is between the God of nature and the God of the Bible. Let Deists array *their* God in his own ascertained attributes, but not in the glory and majesty of *ours*.

Our author most ably vindicates our right to this position by an examination of Natural Theology, Natural Religion, and the Theory of Moral Distinctions, showing that we can learn nothing from these sources concerning the nature, attributes, or government of God. These views he has largely sustained by an examination of the speculations of the heathen philosophers, making it appear that every system of philosophy or metaphysics, whether ancient or modern, which has attempted the elucidation of moral phenomena upon merely human principles and natural knowledge, has universally terminated in scepticism or utter doubtfulness as to what men ought to believe concerning God, nature, providence, or mankind. In short, that a Natural Theology is an impossibility.

After showing that we can learn nothing of God from Natural Theology, nor from any external exhibition the Deity has made in the world, our author proceeds to investigate the credibility of the Scriptures, which claim to furnish that important information desired by all, but neither procured nor procurable from any other source.

In order to this examination, Dr. M'Culloh waives as illogical and unsatisfactory the ordinary arguments used by the defenders of Revelation, and assumes that the only just plan of procedure is to examine the credibility of the Scripture writers in precisely the same manner in which we would ascertain the credibility of written human testimony upon any other subject.

This is a most important position. That any of the able controversialists, who have from time to time undertaken to vindicate the credibility of Scripture, should have overlooked the apparently obvious truth that the question is simply one of human testimony, is truly unaccountable. Yet the fact itself is plain and palpable. Can we establish the credibility of the Scripture writers upon the fulfilment of prophecy? Even if we could show, independently of the sacred record, that certain predictions have been verified, how shall we ascertain the character and nature of the Superhuman Being by whom they were uttered? That prophecies have been accomplished, is evidence that they were uttered by a Prescient Being; but it does not follow that the Prescient Being is the one God of the Bible. Can we establish the credibility of Scripture upon miracles? How, without Scripture, can we show that these miracles were wrought, and wrought by the power of the specific Being to whom we attribute them? That it is perfectly possible to resist this evidence when most vividly presented is plain from the fact that men who saw them did come to adverse conclusions in the matter, admitting the miracles, but denying the direction of their attestation. But if we can procure the admission of the divine authority of the prophets and apostles, how shall we compel men to acknowledge the faithfulness of the divine messengers to their mission, and the entire purity of the doctrines they delivered? Nor can we find impregnable refuge in the morality of the Scriptures, heavenly as it is, for the moral teaching of Christianity is but half its revelation. Where is the guarantee that the ethical system which approves itself to our understanding is necessarily connected with that mysterious doctrine of the atonement which bewilders our reason?

It is evident that all inferences and collateral arguments, however strong as secondary and corroboratory supports to faith, are not firm enough to furnish its foundation. The credibility of the Scripture writers rests upon the results of a fair and logical examination of

their knowledge of the matters they relate, and their honesty in proclaiming them. By this examination they must stand or fall; and by this the Bible can be vindicated, with a power altogether irresistible.

We know that men, who have long given habitual assent to the Scriptures as a whole, commonly find no difficulty in proving any of its doctrines to their satisfaction without reference to the question of the credibility of the writer whose statements they may be defending. They first assume the truth, then reason from it. It is amusing to observe with what complacency men will argue around a circle upon such occasions. Take, for an instance, the Easter Sermon, familiar as eating eggs, in which the happy preacher, sure of a successful argument, demonstrates the fact of the resurrection of our Lord. One would suppose that it would be plain enough that whether this great event did take place is to be determined only by ascertaining the credibility of the witness who testifies of it. But the preacher, taking the statement for truth as he finds it, proceeds to show that the counter-evidence of the Roman guards, as there narrated, is absurd, and he has a clear field of it. For if they were asleep they had no testimony to give, and if they were not they evidently lied. But then how do we know that they ever made such a statement? "Because the Evangelist says so." The Evangelist also says that Jesus rose; and if his statements be assumed as true, what is the use of any argument upon the matter?

The method pursued by Dr. M'Culloh is most conclusive and satisfactory. The result cannot be gainsayed without overturning all historical truth and stultifying mankind, who have in all ages found satisfaction in the consequences of the same principles applied to similar investigations.

There are but two methods by which we can be made certain of the authenticity of a divine communication. We must either receive it ourselves in such a way as to make error with regard to it impossible, or we must take it upon the testimony of others. The Almighty has not seen fit to make his revelation separately to every individual born into the world, for reasons which must be vividly apparent to any who think upon the matter. All but a selected few must then depend for the fact and purity of Revelation upon human testimony, and the truth of this testimony admits but of one form of demonstration. Direct evidence is out of the question; for should many testify to the same divine appearance, or message, or miraculous attestations, they by such testimony immediately become principals in the controversy, and must have their own credibility sustained. In fact, direct testimony is never satisfactory in itself.

In doubtful matters it is never relied upon; for what is called direct evidence is valuable or not, entirely upon the judgment which has to be formed upon the intelligence and veracity of the witness, and these are determined upon the consideration of various *circumstances* affecting his character and conduct. If direct evidence could be conclusive in itself, the testimony of one man would be as decisive as that of another. That it is not so we all know. The word of one man is often entirely satisfactory when the oath of another is utterly disbelieved. Why is this? Because the *circumstances* attending the evidence of the one are such as to demonstrate his veracity. His well-known principles of conduct, his previous life, his *character*, in short, give demonstration of his truthfulness.

When we place the credibility of the Scriptures upon the certainty of circumstantial testimony, we place it upon the only sure and certain ground of demonstration, and the only one possible in such inquiries. The method we pursue is even strictly mathematical. It is a legitimate process of reasoning, even in geometrical demonstrations, to state a fact positively and to show its truth by the impossibility of the negative. It is true that many are in the habit of disposing summarily of this question by appealing to the consciousness of believers, who know from the effects of the gospel the truth of its teachings. Far from undervaluing this testimony, we must remember, however, that it is not available in a controversy with unbelievers, nor satisfactory to the Christian himself in many conditions of mind to which he is subject in his warfare. The soul shaken by temptation cannot be steadied by taking hold upon itself; it must have external support.

Moses was either what he claimed to be, or he was something else. Let us suppose him to have been anything else, and test him by his doctrines and his conduct, and the absurdity of the supposition can be made so glaring that the hypothesis must be abandoned. His pretensions have been before the world for thousands of years. If he was anything else than he assumed to be, there has been abundant time and opportunity to have discovered the hypothesis by which the facts concerning him can be explained. Such an hypothesis has never been framed, and we may well conclude the negative impossible. In fact, the plausible assumptions possible in such a case are very few. Moses was either a politician, who desired the good of his people and assumed the divine legation as a benevolent fraud to insure compliance with wise economical regulations; or he was a selfish man, actuated by a paramount desire for power, or wealth, or sensual gratifications, or for perpetuating a dominant family—in short, by some such considerations as are purely human;

or he was a mixed character, at once patriotic and ambitious, benevolent and selfish; or he was a man of priestly caste, possessed by the *esprit du corps*, and aiming to establish an impregnable sacerdotal authority over the Jewish nation. Tested upon any of these hypotheses, his conduct is utterly inexplicable and incomprehensible. The amount of irreducible absurdity which presents itself to be harmonized upon any of these suppositions is amazing even to believers in the truth. Dr. M'Culloh has briefly recapitulated a number of them, and we would gladly quote from his exposition but for the impropriety of weakening the argument by presenting only fragments of it.

There is one fact which the author has not enumerated which we would respectfully ask some impugner of Moses to explain upon any possible theory of his character but his own.* After having led the Israelitish nation out of bondage, and succeeded in preserving their confidence for more than forty years; after having brought them to the boundaries of Canaan, and to the verge of the accomplishment of all his promises to them, he felt that he must die, and took a solemn farewell of his people. Why was it that he chose to invent a lie in order to convince the whole nation that his death was *punitory*—that he was not to depart through the inevitable necessities of worn-out nature, nor to be translated to heaven as a reward for his goodness, but to be cut off as a punishment for sin? Why did he employ his last moments and exhaust his invention in devising a means of lessening his own fame and traducing his own character?

That a patriotic and wise lawgiver should enjoin upon the whole nation to abstain from cultivating the soil every seventh year, under the delusive promise of periodical and supernatural superabundance; that he should oblige all the males of a defenceless country, surrounded by hostile nations, to assemble at Jerusalem at stated periods, under the assurance of divine protection to their homes during their absence; that an ambitious man should assume no political rank nor distinction for himself and family and immediate friends; that a selfish man should acquire no property as a natural reward for his eminent services, nor ask any kindness for his descendants; that a man actuated by merely human principles should represent himself as dying under the frown of the God whose oracle and administration he had so long professed to be, and that he should not even have provided for his body a funeral and a grave; that a zealous ecclesiastic should have established a system in which ecclesiastics

* This circumstance is cursorily alluded to by Horne in his argument for the credibility of Moses.

only were forbidden to hold real estate, and must commence their residence in the promised land by a formal renunciation of their fair share of the soil they had equally acquired; that their provision should amount to nothing more than the fruits of their surrendered inheritance, and that this tithe should be a voluntary payment, secured by no statute of collection nor any ecclesiastical penalty; that their persons should not be protected by any sacredness, and that their office should be endowed with no political power; above all, that access to the Almighty should not be through them but open to every man—these are some of the paradoxes which the impugners of the sacred Scriptures must solve before they can discredit Moses. We thank Dr. M'Culloh for letting us know the extent and availability of our means of defence.

Our author makes great use of the fact, that though the Deity frequently made communications to the Jews, he very rarely did so through the priests, but commonly through laymen of various characters and conditions, holding no official relation to the ecclesiastical establishment. These communications were often most offensive to kings and priests. Sometimes the prophet was a child, sometimes a woman; generally they were rude and obscure men. What ecclesiastical or political establishment, based upon merely human considerations, could have endured such authoritative interference as this, much less distinctly recognised it? What sort of kingcraft and priestcraft is exhibited in the picture of the monarch and the high-priest of Judah applying for heavenly counsel through Huldah, the female keeper of the royal wardrobe?

Pursuing the same method of examination, our author demonstrates the credibility of the apostles of our Lord, whom he shows to have been merely the same class of men as the Old Testament prophets, an identity of the utmost importance in his subsequent inquiry into the constitution of the Christian Church.

Having established the credibility of the Scripture writers, our author proceeds to an investigation of the canon of Scripture, the integrity and inspiration of the text, &c., in which we find nothing entirely new, and therefore we do not think it necessary to occupy our little remaining space by comments upon it.

The author then undertakes an interpretation of the Scriptures, which he effects by means of four historical investigations:—1st. Concerning the Paradisaical condition of Adam and Eve; 2d. The Patriarchal Dispensation; 3d. The Jewish Dispensation; 4th. The Christian Dispensation. As these "investigations" are essentially historical expositions, carried out to very considerable extent, it would be impossible for us to follow the

author through his details. The substantial result, as estimated by him, is to establish the leading fact of his work, that mankind are in a probationary state, as intellectual and moral free agents, who have been left by their Creator to act as they see proper in this life, subject ultimately to the rigid scrutiny of the day of judgment, when all things shall be brought to the appointed consummation.

But as the conclusions to which Dr. M'Culloh arrives upon certain particulars involved in the Scriptural history of God's proceedings with mankind are very different from prevailing theological opinions, we do not feel at liberty to pass the principal points of disagreement without notice.

In the exposition of the Paradisaical state of Adam and Eve, our author avows his strong dissent from the doctrine of original sin, which he thinks to be entirely inconsistent both with Scripture and with facts. We have neither space nor inclination to engage in the interminable and unprofitable discussion of the several theories by which ingenious men have endeavoured to solve the inexplicable riddle of the existence of universal evil in the dominions of an omnipotent Being who is himself universally good, and to reconcile man's strict accountability with his natural depravity. So far as the Scriptures enlighten us upon the subject we are content to walk by faith, and beyond this we have no hope in speculations. That God's dealings to his creatures cannot be reconciled to our notions of propriety upon barely human reasoning is certain. Even if we, upon our theory, and Dr. M'Culloh upon his, find full satisfaction in contemplating our heavenly Father's conduct towards men, we have but overcome one difficulty to encounter another; for we must next examine His dealings to the brute creation, who, without any moral delinquency of their federal head, or any probationary imperfection, are subject to bodily evils similar to our own, while their instincts compel them to worry and destroy one another—the principle of love being almost, if not altogether, excluded from the system under which they are made to live; their condition allowing of conduct analogous only to the wickedness, never to the virtues of man. The truth seems to us to be that, inasmuch as man fell by presumptuously preferring the tree of knowledge to the tree of life, intellectual power to moral good, God has so constructed his plan of redemption that this proud intellectualism shall be prostrated in the dust before him. He treats it with profound indifference. He dictates his commands to us as a God, and claims our obedience because he is God. He never deigns to explain the rationale of his government nor his salvation. He states to us clearly our duty, our privileges, and the

consequences of our life. So far as is necessary to a clear comprehension of these, and to a proper appreciation of them, he has enlightened us; but no further. His revelation is entirely practical; it is intended to save men from sin, and prepare them for heaven; beyond this purpose it is mute. Men may draw inferences and found speculations upon the Scriptures at will; but whether they be right or wrong, the Deity vouchsafes no decision. To all these inquiries the unvarying answer comes forth from God, "Strive to enter in at the strait gate."

That all men are sinners, is a truth clearly taught in the Bible, and verified by every day's observation. If all men do sin, have sinned, and always will sin, then we say it is their nature to sin—that is, that the necessity of sinning is a law of their life, depending upon their physical and moral constitution. Dr. M'Culloh does not deny the universal sinfulness of men; on the contrary, he expressly admits it, but he contends that this sinfulness is the result of their natural imperfection, and not of any pravity entailed upon them by Adam's fall. He insists, however, upon the absolute necessity of God's grace and the atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ for the salvation of men, and does not appear to differ at all as to practical teachings from the most earnest advocates of "original sin." The question, then, between us and our author, if we comprehend his meaning, is simply the abstract one, How man came into a given state of sin? We contend, solely upon the ground of what we believe to be the teaching of revelation, that men are in some mysterious way morally implicated in the fall of our first parents. That upon principles of government, to us unintelligible, God has so connected us with his retributions upon Adam and Eve, that our physical and moral state have been altered thereby, in such way that the one has become naturally subject to disease and dissolution, and the other to sin and death. Dr. M'Culloh, on the contrary, supposes that while man's body was implicated in Adam's fall, his soul was not so, except that the condition of its probation was thenceforth changed. Nevertheless, being imperfect in order to probation, coming into the world ignorant of God, without mature judgment or the light of experience, pervaded with strong animal impulses, men must necessarily sin, and having sinned can only be saved by the means God has appointed—redemption by Jesus Christ, and sanctification by the Holy Ghost.

The issue thus made is obviously not a practical one. Two physicians meet to consult upon the case of a patient. The disease is plain enough and bad enough. The man is evidently about to perish unless some remedy be administered to him. The doctors

agree entirely as to the nature of the disease, and its consequences, and each advises the same specific remedy, both asserting it to be infallible. But, beginning to theorize about the matter, one insists that the poor man inherited the disease from his father, while the other contends that he engendered it in his own constitution as the inevitable result of the circumstances under which he lived. The question is evidently not practical. The counsel to the patient is not based upon the doctrine of inheritance, nor spontaneity, nor at all influenced by the theories of the advisers, but is administered upon sure knowledge of its efficacy. The question would, indeed, be one of life and death, should one of the physicians propose a different course of treatment founded upon his theory. Our author represents one of the physicians in the first part of the illustration, and we think, with all respect, that he has unnecessarily encumbered his work with his speculations upon this subject. We cannot perceive that his exposition of the matter helps us out of our difficulties. Every objection to the implication of man's soul in the fall is equally applicable to the implication of his body; for an unjust principle cannot be made just by a more limited or less important application of it. At the most the author can only consider himself to have got one foot out of the morass, while the other is fixed immovably in it. We prefer not to enter it at all, even with his guidance. We consider the whole matter inexplicable; and we receive the teaching of the Scriptures upon it, so far as we comprehend it, with implicit faith.

We agree with Dr. M'Culloh, that in the matter of original sin the Calvinistic divines have gone greatly too far. Indeed, we believe that they have thrown out their kedge farther than they have ever been able to warp up their faith, for we doubt whether any man ever really believed to the full extent and universal application the dogma that children are born into the world "*utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil.*" Let any man, for a few moments, consider what the consequences of such a state would be—what a brood of demons every family of children! What a *pandemonium* every nursery, if the little human beings, full of hate and cruelty, loving all wickedness because it is wicked, hating all good because it is good, as yet uncontrolled by fear, could come into contact and collision with each other! How could Jesus say of these, Of such is the kingdom of heaven? How could they be patterns of humility, when in reality they were by nature "*utterly indisposed and disabled,*" and made opposite to that virtue, and wholly inclined to pride and rebellion? And how would it accelerate an entrance into the kingdom of heaven "to become as

little children," that is, "opposite to all good, and inclined to all evil?" The fact is, the definition given by the Westminster divines of *man* would be full and complete if applied to a *devil*. Nothing worse can possibly be said of Satan than that he is "utterly indisposed, disabled, and opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil."

If we press these views upon a Calvinist the universal reply is that we urge the doctrine to extremes; which, in view of the palpable fact that the definition is as extreme as words can make it, merely means that it is too extreme for practical application, and in reality too extreme to be believed.

That men are born aliens from God, without that communion of his Spirit necessary to a spiritual life, is true. That until reunited to God they must be wholly incompetent to perform the duties and accomplish the benevolent purposes of their probationary state, and that in the eyes of God their conduct as to himself must, when viewed in the light of a perfect law, be wholly sinful, is, we think, clearly taught us in the Scriptures. That man's moral condition at the fall was changed through the privation of the Holy Spirit in the power with which He originally dwelt in man, and not by the infusion into him by his Creator of an evil principle, is, we think, clearly inferable from Scripture and facts. But that men are naturally human devils, hating good and loving evil, in the fullest sense of abstract principles, we do not believe; and neither, we think, does any one else.

With regard to the essential inherent nature of our Lord, Dr. M'Culloh professes to be without any opinion. He considers that we have no clear revelation upon the subject; and that, therefore, the subject, being without revelation, utterly incomprehensible, has nothing whatever to do with Christian faith. All that has been distinctly communicated to us, is that in virtue of his humiliation, personal suffering and death, he became the author or basis of our salvation, and evermore exists as our Saviour, Mediator, or High-Priest before Jehovah, through whom only we can obtain the forgiveness of our sins and everlasting acceptance hereafter in the kingdom of heaven." "Whether the apostles themselves possessed any knowledge concerning the inherent nature of Jesus Christ, or of the theory by which the salvation of mankind was accomplished, I altogether doubt; for why should they forbear to communicate it when their great business was to convince and convert the world? . . . They have made no communication to mankind on these particulars, &c., &c." Notwithstanding the "absolute incomprehensibility of the inherent nature, or personality of Jesus Christ," the author thinks, "It is abundantly clear from the New Testament writers that Jesus Christ

died for our sins; that he is our *High-Priest, Mediator and Advocate before God*; and that he shall at the last day, as our *Judge, determine our future and eternal condition.*"

Dr. M'Culloh argues this proposition (the incomprehensibility of the inherent nature of Jesus) from the considerations: 1st. That it has not been clearly revealed; and 2d. That our Saviour himself cut short all inquiry upon the subject by the declaration (Luke x, 22): "*No one knoweth who the Son is but the Father.*"

In showing that no doctrine upon this subject has been revealed, our author urges as conclusive the fact that the Christian world has always been divided in opinion about it. (Page 358, Vol. I.) But surely this argument would apply to the doctrine of the atonement quite as irresistibly. The author asserts that the fact that the great majority of Christians have adopted the Trinitarian hypothesis is no evidence of its truth, as majorities are by no means necessarily right, and in matters of religion have often been egregiously wrong. There is a very subtle sophism, however, in his reasoning upon this matter; for while repudiating the authority of the majority to decide the question in the affirmative, he actually permits the minority to decide it in the negative. For his syllogism amounts to this:—No doctrine can be clearly revealed which has always been disputed by a large minority of Christians; but the doctrine of the Trinity has been always thus disputed; therefore the doctrine of the Trinity is not true. Here we have a most important example of the *negative pregnant with an affirmative*; for by denying the Trinitarian hypothesis in this instance, the author makes us, by an evident extension of the procedure, affirm the "incomprehensible one," which is as much an hypothesis as the other.

Our author proves very clearly, by an array of Scripture texts, that the apostles commonly offered Jesus simply as the promised Messiah of the Jews and the Redeemer of men; but he takes no notice of other passages which seem to us to be most positive declarations of the Divinity of our Lord. We can afford to surrender to the Arians, (among whom we by no means intend to include Dr. M'Culloh,) all the texts upon the authenticity of which they have been able to cast a doubt. We can abandon 1 John v, 7, "There are three that bear record, &c.," which we believe to be spurious, and submit to the Arian interpretation of 1 Tim. iii, 16: "*God manifest in the flesh,*" &c., of which passage, however, Dr. M'Culloh has been misled in saying, "All the ancient manuscripts are against the reading of our printed Bibles!" The contrary is the case: for (see Bloomfield, Greek Testament, note on this place) only four manuscripts support the reading of Griesbach,

which Dr. M'Culloh adopts. He perhaps intended "*versions*" instead of manuscripts.

Yet, without these passages, the testimony of the New Testament to the essential Divinity of Christ is to our apprehension abundantly satisfactory. The introduction to the Gospel of John, the authenticity of which is confessedly impregnable, is alone sufficient to prove the inherent Divinity of Him who "in the beginning was with God, and was God."*

Then we have our Lord's declaration to Philip; Thomas's permitted and commended homage, "My Lord and my God," † (John xx, 28;) the many strong passages in the apostolic writings, such as Colossians i, 16, 17: "For by Him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by Him and for Him: and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist;" and that of John: "This is the true God and Eternal Life!" The whole book of Revelation is also positive upon this point.

Dr. M'Culloh lays great stress upon the words of our Lord, Luke x, 22: *No man knoweth the Son but the Father*. He cites this passage repeatedly, and puts it in capitals, as decisive of the presumption of all who profess to hold any opinions upon the inherent nature of our Lord. But he should have quoted the whole passage of which the part in question is but a dislocated fragment. The text reads: "All things are delivered to me of my Father; and no man knoweth who the Son is but the Father; and *who the Father is but the Son*, and he to whom the Son will reveal him." If this passage proves that men are excluded from believing in the inherent Divinity of the Son, it does so also of the Father, unless we suppose that the true revelation of the Father was subsequently made by the Son, of which we have no evidence whatsoever. That the passage teaches that the comprehension of the mystery of the Godhead and incarnation of Jesus are possible only to God, we admit; but Dr. M'Culloh seems to have confounded the incomprehensible with the incredible.

° The reader who may be curious to see the effect of this passage upon the mind of a determined Socinian, will be gratified by consulting Kenrick's exposition. He makes two trials at interpretation opposite to each other, and gives the reader his choice. If this be *exposition*, it is easy work.

† Of this passage Kenrick says: "These words are no more than an exclamation of the apostle, the effect of sudden surprise and astonishment;" so that to make Thomas a Socinian he represents him as a profane man, who, when surprised or astonished, took the name of God in vain, even in the presence of the Messiah.

Certainly we can believe in an eternal, omnipresent, and omniscient Being, without comprehending anything of his nature; and so we can believe in the Divinity of Jesus, although his nature, too, is utterly beyond our comprehension.

Though to receive Jesus as the Messiah is the only condition of salvation by him, yet we are helped greatly thus to receive him by a sure confidence in his Divinity. Indeed, to occupy the position chosen by Dr. M'Culloh would to most persons prove an impossible intellectual feat. "It would be like sitting on the ridge of a house without inclining either way." To receive Jesus as the Messiah, we find it necessary to regard him as higher than all created intelligences, and when we have imagined a Being prior to, and necessary to, and unaffected by, all created things, we have imagined God. Dr. M'Culloh himself, we doubt not, believes in the Divinity of our Lord. He has shrunk from the bewildering inquiry into the mode of Divine Being, and shut up his mind against all conclusion upon the subject; but we think it will not be difficult for him to trace his sure confidence in Jesus to the certainty that the "Word was God."

With regard to the resurrection of the dead, Dr. M'Culloh adopts the views of Mr. Locke, which seem also to have been acceptable to Archbishop Whately. The doctrine is, that by the resurrection of *the dead* is not meant of the *dead body*, but only the revivification of dead persons, who remain in unconsciousness until the great and terrible day of the Lord. The argument as presented by our author contains a very full examination of the many passages of Scripture bearing upon this interesting point. It is, of course, impossible that we should follow him through his exposition. We will only comment upon one Greek criticism upon which the case mainly rests.

Dr. M'Culloh says:—

"The Scriptures say expressly, *The dead shall be raised*; but nowhere, that the *dead bodies* of men shall be raised. These terms are entirely different, and the distinction is clearly expressed in the Greek of the New Testament. . . . The Greek word for *the dead* is *νεκρός*, an adjective or part of speech which every one, acquainted even with English grammar, knows to be a word expressing a *quality, state or condition*. It is not a noun substantive, and as such by no propriety could be used as implying a *dead body*."

It would be enough, perhaps, to say in reply to this, that the *original* use of the word *νεκρός* was its substantive use, to denote a *dead body*, a *corpse*, (see Liddell & Scott, or Robinson, *sub voce*.) and that it was only in Attic and later usage that it was, in fact, to any extent, employed adjectively. But even admitting that the Scripture writers commonly speak of the resurrection of "the dead," using *νεκρός*

adjectively, the expression seems to us perfectly natural and consistent with our present usage. We do not speak of the resurrection of *corpses* or of mere *animal remains*, (*σώματα*,) but of *the dead*, because we do not believe that the body is to be revived without reunion with the spirit and entire restoration of the person deceased. Had the apostles taught the resurrection of the "*σῶμα*," they would have left it in doubt whether the hope of the resurrection is confined to the human race, or is common to all the creatures subject to death. They would also have left it uncertain whether the re-animation of the body is to be merely a restoration to it of animal life, or a reunion with it of the moral and intellectual nature. We think they used the right word, and are well satisfied with the ordinary interpretation of it.

Dr. M'Culloh is always strongest where he is most original. The valuable parts of his work are his own, the errors are commonly opinions and arguments adopted from others. Modestly confessing the imperfection of his classical learning, which however is very respectable, the doctor has confided too fully in the pretensions of great men. However, one can hardly lose much reputation by erring with John Locke.

Dr. M'Culloh declares his decided approbation of the views of Macknight and others, that, after the final decisions of the judgment, the wicked will be utterly destroyed by a dreadful visitation of Almighty wrath. This question is to be determined in no other way than by the interpretation of the texts of Scripture which bear upon it. We have no right to argue it upon its consistency with the divine character on the one hand, nor the evil consequences which may be expected to follow its affirmation upon the other. It is a simple question of, What saith the Lord? and the answer must be found in the critical examination of the Greek text of the New Testament. Through such an examination it is impossible to follow our author. He offers no new argument in favour of his hypothesis, and we refer our readers for its refutation to the many writings upon the subject. There are several other points on which our author maintains opinions contrary to those commonly received; but we cannot find space to comment upon them. Our silence, however, must not be construed as assent.

On the constitution and organization of Christian Churches, Dr. M'Culloh has given us a remarkable essay, original in its views, and exhibiting much bold and patient investigation, and a very commendable independence in the conclusions which it offers to the Christian world. We regret exceedingly that we cannot review this part of the work as fully as its importance and excellence de-

serve; but we can do little more than notice the author's conclusions, and must refer the reader to the work for his arguments.

Dr. M'Culloh shows that our Lord never constituted a body of clergy as an ecclesiastical corporation, and consequently that there can, by no possibility, be any succession of ecclesiastical corporate rights or official relationship to God and man as are claimed by the clergy of the Catholic and Episcopal Churches, and more modestly by all who regard Presbyterian ordination as anything more than a mere form by which a body of Christians acknowledge their acceptance of a preacher or pastor. That the apostles were merely such divine agents as the prophets of old, acting in an individual capacity, and utterly incapable of transferring or transmitting their authority or office, either as individuals, or through the intervention of a corporate or collegiate embodiment, Dr. M'Culloh has shown beyond the possibility of successful contradiction. The theory of apostolical descent is, therefore, obviously absurd; and that of Presbyterian ordination, if we claim for it any validity or importance on account of presumed transmission, is not a whit more tenable.

Dr. M'Culloh's views of the constitution of the primitive Church we give in his own words:—

"The result of my investigation is as follows: *First*, when any number of Christian believers were sufficiently numerous in any locality to form a society or congregation, their theory of organization was either substantially like that of an ordinary prayer meeting, such as is held by devout laymen among us at the present day; or *secondly*, when a body of converts to Christianity had been made by the preaching of an apostle, it would seem that he ordinarily at least selected certain persons to watch over them and to instruct them, essentially in a manner analogous to what is done by the *class leaders* in the society of Methodists. In an ensuing age, after the decease of the apostles, the members of these several associations or congregations, however originally formed, henceforth selected their leaders by some formal expression of their own approbation.

"But that there may be no misapprehension as to the application of my argument hereafter, I must first state what is to be understood by a prayer or class meeting, as illustrating the views advanced above concerning the organization of the primitive Church.

"The prayer meeting that I recognise as an illustration is the one where devout laymen, without any clergyman, meet together for purposes of mutual religious edification. They have no formal constitution, nor by-laws; yet it will be found, after the lapse of a few weeks, that the association has acquired a consistency of form, and that certain individuals among them have become prominent in the association as those who commonly make the public prayer, read the Scripture, or exhort and instruct the members, as well as make any address to the association on any extrinsic subject interesting to them. These persons thus become leaders or officers in the society only through the tacit approbation of the other members, and not by any formal election. Their number is necessarily indefinite from the theory of their union, that presupposes that whenever any member is able to say anything to the edification of his associates, he either will do so from the instigation of his own feelings, or else

will be invited to do so by those who are aware of his ability. A society thus organized may continue to exist in a similar manner for centuries, as individuals will be found continually coming forward among the new members, to supply vacancies occurring among the leaders, whether from death or from any other causes.

* * * * *

"The leaders in such assemblies the primitive Christians designated according to their own idiom, as being *zokenim*, elders, which means nothing more than is signified by our terms, directors or superintendents. . . .

"It is to the class meeting in its peculiar feature as being under the direction of a leader *who is a simple layman*, not selected by themselves, that I find an analogy to the organization established by the apostles among their disciples in certain instances, and which was more especially the case with those converted from the Gentiles. In other words, the apostles in these instances designated the leaders or superintendents, which ordinarily with the Jewish disciples arose from the tacit approbation of the members of the societies.

"The various Churches of the primitive Christians were thus organized, whether according to the principle of the prayer or class meeting, and their respective leaders or elders from their mere position exercised all those functions which are now restricted to the clergy, such as exhorting, preaching, praying, administering baptism, or in commemorating the Lord's supper. They had no exclusive authority to perform such functions, yet (it was) just as it is in a prayer meeting, where, though any one of the association has a right either to exhort or pray in public, yet the majority never claim to exercise the right.

"At the same time that the *zokenim*, elders or presbyters, thus performed those services which are now specially arrogated by the clergy to themselves, the more humble services necessary in the association were performed by those who, in the Greek language, were termed *deacons*, i. e. ministers or servants. The function of deacon in the first instance, under the influence of oriental customs, required two classes of persons, viz., *males* for services among men *females* for those among women. These were to visit, comfort, instruct, or relieve the wants or afflictions of the several members.

"That such simple forms of organization as the prayer or class meetings were amply sufficient for Christian edification or instruction may be distinctly inferred from the fact that the religious system promulgated in the New Testament requires no theological or speculative teaching. There are no esoteric doctrines to be communicated to the people, and the simple requirements of the gospel, as being perfectly intelligible to the plainest capacities, are there merely announced to mankind for moral or religious observance. It is our duty to carry them out into practice, and it is not our duty to speculate upon them as theological subtleties."

With regard to the nature of *ordination*, which is made to play so important a part in modern ecclesiastical controversies, our author shows that it was not properly a Christian institution, but a mere continuance of a familiar Jewish practice. Among the Jews it was originally a civil rite, by which men were formally inducted into office of any kind. It was also used in the recognition of rabbis, being nothing more than the public acknowledgment on the part of one or more doctors of the law that the individual ordained was fully instructed in and competent to teach the Old Testament Scriptures. The early Christians founded their infant Churches upon the basis of the synagogue, and introduced into their new arrangements its

offices, and names, and usages. As in the synagogue system there was no ecclesiastical body or clergy analogous to those now recognised in the Christian Churches, so there was no such class of persons in the primitive Church. The term *clergy* originally merely designated persons officially employed in Christian congregations, in contradistinction to those who exercised no such functions. It included "women (deaconesses), readers, porters, door-keepers, and even the grave-diggers."

Dr. M'Culloh shows most lucidly how this simple organization became corrupted; how the word *clergy* became restricted, and how the clergy thus technically admitted shifted their traditionary derivation from the synagogue to the temple, and claimed their descent from the Aaronic priesthood and the Levites. In this gradual, long-continued, and successful attempt to establish the foundations of the Christian Church upon the temple instead of the synagogue lies the secret of the corruptions which have for centuries so disfigured and perverted Christianity. It is this error which of all others it should be the effect of Protestants to overthrow, and Dr. M'Culloh, by his clear, manly, and irrefragable exposition of this subject, has done a service to the cause of truth and to the welfare of the world which can hardly be appreciated too highly.

In his chapters upon the Developments of Christianity, our author has shown how this pestilent notion finally reached its theoretical maturity in the admission of the existence of a *concrete* Holy Catholic Church, as an article of faith:—

"At the same time that the innovations were taking place by which the elders of Christian congregations were gradually converted into priests, there was another principle developing itself among all Christian communities which not only tended to the establishment of the assumed priestly character of the elders or ministers of the gospel, but which actually confirmed them as such by bringing all Christendom under the entire control of the clergy as legislators for the whole body of Christian believers. This principle was the gradual rise and ultimately full recognition of the doctrine of a *Holy Catholic Church*. This term, originally an *abstract* one, meaning, as now among Protestants properly so called, the whole body of believers, now became *concrete*, and designated the majority of Christians, acting and speaking through their clergy. The immense importance of this change can only be fully understood by examining its consequences, as frightfully developed and yet developing in both civil and ecclesiastical affairs. We fully agree with our author that "it is of the utmost importance that the reader should distinctly comprehend the vast change that was introduced into the Christian religion by the insensible process of converting the abstract term, *Church of Christ*, into the concrete term *Holy Catholic Church*; for the oversight of this matter has been the cause of great perplexity to all readers of ecclesiastical history, and especially so to those who have been engaged in controversies with the Roman Catholic Church."

We cannot follow Dr. M'Culloh through his admirable exposition of the progress of the error above noticed, and the other mistakes

of early Christians, as developed under the Roman empire. His essay upon this subject is a most valuable contribution to Protestant literature. It lays the axe to the root of the hierarchical pretensions of the clergy of the Roman Catholic and Episcopal Churches, and prostrates that gigantic upas which has for so many ages thrown its poisonous shade over the most highly civilized and intelligent nations of the earth.

Of the chapter which treats of the Developments of Christianity since the Reformation, we have no space to express a critical opinion. It is well worth the serious attention of devout and thoughtful men, and to them we commend it. Upon the subject of the mode of worship, however, Dr. M'Culloh expresses some views, so excellent and so pertinent to the present circumstances of the Church, that we cannot refrain from quoting from him, briefly:—

“I am the more strongly impelled to call the serious attention of my readers to the subject of church edifices from the circumstance that many of the churches built in the United States during the past few years have been constructed upon architectural models that involve not only an unjustifiable expenditure of money, but are also expressly contemplated for promoting superstitious feelings in those who it is supposed will assemble in such buildings.

“This is especially the case with Gothic churches, the invention of the darkest and most superstitious time the Christian world has ever seen, when nearly all spirituality of religion being unknown, the mere imagination was excited by the fanciful proprieties of an ecclesiastical opera-house, that substantially only represented religious melodramas.

“Instead therefore of entering a church under intellectual considerations that they are about, on their own theory, to hold communion with the Sovereign of the universe, from whom they are to implore pardon for sin, and the sanctification of their nature by the renewing of the Holy Spirit, these most unthinking Protestants have erected churches, whose gloomy decorations, stained glass windows, solemn strains of music from organs and well-drilled musical choirs, lead them away from all intellectual perceptions of the condescension of their Creator, and plunge them into the gross delusion of supposing that they are worshipping God when they are merely gratifying their own eyes and ears. . . . The decay of spiritual apprehensions concerning their religious condition, or the right exercise of their privileges, I think may be estimated in a congregation according to their proceeding on such subjects, as distinctly as the growth of a worldly spirit is indicated by the actions of an individual. As I believe, the establishment of a choir is one exhibition of the decrease of the true principles of Christianity in a congregation, the addition of an organ or other musical instruments manifests a still greater amount of spiritual insensibility to divine things. If to these be added the building of an expensively decorated church, and above all a Gothic church, I know not where their absurd will-worship will carry them. To expect that the Spirit of Jehovah will continue to abide among a community who have adopted practices so wholly unsustained by any approbation of prophets or apostles, and so contrary in their character to the intellectual genius of Christianity, is to expect directly contrary to what Jehovah has announced in the Scriptures, as well as what he has already exhibited in his providential dealings towards mankind.”

We heartily thank Dr. M'Culloh for this plain and fearless declaration of unfashionable and unwelcome truth. Like him, we think we see the three stages of declension manifested in choirs, organs, and Gothic churches. They mark the successive transfers of the kingdom of God from within to without us—the regular stages of progression in a scheme of piety by substitution. Praise by proxy, solemnity by mechanics, and an outward temple of stone for the inward temple of the Holy Ghost, these are the tendencies of this carnal generation. Even Methodism is infected with this evil spirit of sensualism. Alas! for us, we have to a great extent abandoned the beautiful and spiritual melodies, the heart-music of former days, with which the early Methodists sang the gospel throughout the land, making hills and valleys echo with the name of Jesus. Since we have been deprived of the privilege of praising God in the congregations of his people, the memory of the olden time is “sweet and mournful to our soul.”

We here close our imperfect review of this, in many respects, remarkable work. If any shall be disposed to censure us for undue lenity towards an author who advocates so many opinions different from our own, we reply in the language of John Milton:—“Heresy is the will and choice professedly against Scripture; error is against the will—a misunderstanding the Scripture, after all sincere endeavour to understand it rightly. Hence it was said by one of the ancients, ‘Err I may, but a heretic I will not be.’ It is a human frailty to err, and no man is infallible here on earth. But so long as all of them profess to set the word of God only before them as the rule of faith and obedience, and use all diligence and sincerity of heart, by reading, by learning, by study, by prayer for the illumination of the Holy Spirit to understand the rule, and obey it, they have done what men can do. God will assuredly pardon them as he did the friends of Job, good and pious men, though much mistaken, as there it appears, in some points of doctrine.”—*Milton, “Of True Religion.”*

FOURTH SERIES, VOL. V.—18.

ART. VI.—JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE.

Japan : an account, Geographical and Historical, from the earliest period at which the islands composing this empire were known to Europeans down to the present time, and the Expedition fitted out in the United States, &c. By CHARLES MAC FARLANE, Esq., Author of "British India," "Life of Wellington," &c., &c. 12mo. New York : George P. Putnam & Co.

UNTIL the year 1542, although the nautical enterprise of the Portuguese had planted their colonies and their faith along the shores of India and China, no European had visited Japan. Marco Polo, who travelled through China in the latter part of the thirteenth century, had gathered some hints respecting the Island Empire; but the since-verified narratives of the celebrated Venetian, respecting a civilization in many respects beyond that of his own age in Europe, found but little credit. At the date above mentioned a Portuguese ship, driven from her course by storms, came at length to anchor at the Island of Kinsju. The tempest-tost mariners were received with respect and kindness, and, although vigilantly watched, were allowed free intercourse with the people. Struck by the apparent wealth and civilization of the country, they obtained permission to send a ship annually. Seven years afterwards a young Japanese found his way to the Portuguese settlement at Goa, and, having been converted from idolatry, was baptized into the Church of Rome. He showed the merchants how extensive and profitable a market was offered in Japan for European and Indian commodities, and in his zeal for the new faith urged the Jesuits to the easy task of Christianizing his countrymen. The enterprising traders resolved at once to occupy the new field; and although fearful dangers hung around the path of those early navigators along stormy and barbarous coasts, yet the spirit of the apostolic Xavier, which had electrified the shores of India by its fiery zeal, disdained that charity should falter where avarice could press on. He himself, with a band of devoted followers, sailed in a ship laden with rich presents and valuable merchandise, and arrived safely at the port of Bungo. The Islanders gave them all a hearty welcome. They travelled throughout the country and visited the various ports. The nobles of the country vied with each other in sumptuous hospitality. The goods sold for double their value, and the exports taken in return brought rare profits again at home. It is not surprising, therefore, that commercial intercourse rapidly increased, and the Portuguese residents became very numerous, more especially as the general toleration

which prevailed, and a singular coincidence between some traditional notions and the facts of the Christian Scriptures, facilitated the conversion of the natives. At first, when the impatient missionaries attempted to procure translations of their written sermons from unpractised interpreters, the effort to read homilies in bad Japanese, written in Latin characters, afforded much amusement; but when longer intercourse had made them familiar with the language and character of the people, their success was astonishing. Xavier, with the preternatural quickness of a mind strung to its highest tension by one absorbing idea, mastered the language in a few weeks. Leaving his fellow-labourers on the coast, and among those whose commercial relations inclined them most favourably towards the strangers, he penetrated the interior of the country. Driven from one city by the angry mob whose voluptuousness he denounced, and from another by the violence of a besieging rebel faction, he plunged through forests heaped with snow-drifts, and climbed over mountains of barren rock, uncomplaining and without a groan; until, attended only by a native convert, who followed with astonished and mechanical devotedness, he reached the capital, his eye still gleaming from his emaciated countenance with the fire of a heavenly mission. Such heroic energy betokening his personal conviction of the truths he asserted, such an evident vision of eternal realities above the sensual life which he rebuked, gave to his appeals to the slumbering conscience of the nation a resistless power. His humble colleagues at the sea-ports were visiting the sick and relieving the poor, with all that constancy of self-denying piety which marked the early years of the successive monastic orders. Thousands were converted and baptized. Three of the hereditary nobility made an open profession of Christianity. Xavier even had a public disputation with the champions of the Buddhist sects in the presence of the emperor, who strongly favoured the missionaries. An embassy of Japanese converts was sent to bear the homage of the rising Church to the feet of His Holiness at Rome; and although Xavier had left Japan and died on the shore of China before they returned with the blessings and honours of the Supreme Pontiff, the progress of the faith was so rapid that his successor, who died in 1570, is said to have founded fifty Churches, and to have baptized with his own hands thirty thousand converts. The Jesuits, after giving a careful education to a number of promising young native converts, admitted them into their order. The irritated priesthood of the ancient religion at length extorted from the court a proclamation that no native should be baptized or profess Christianity under pain of death. It was, however, seldom enforced in a country

where the toleration of indifference had long prevailed, and where, as yet, Romanism had not affected any political interest. When the bonzes of all the sects concurred in a petition to the emperor Nobunanga, that he would expel the Jesuits and all Romish monks from Japan, that prince, annoyed by their importunities, inquired how many different religions there were in Japan. "Thirty-five," said the bonzes. "Well," said the emperor, "where thirty-five religions can be tolerated, we can easily bear with thirty-six: leave the strangers in peace." The event proved his mistake. But meanwhile the Portuguese increased in numbers, and gained a stronger hold on the affections of the people. Many of them married ladies, baptized of course, from the first families in Japan; and traces of their civilization, then the highest in Europe excepting the Italian, still linger, blended with the forms of oriental culture.

About this time Holland began to acquire that maritime power in the East, before which the ascendancy of Spain and Portugal gradually waned. In the year 1598 a fleet of five vessels sailed from the Texel to attempt the unfrequented passage of Cape Horn, with no definite port in contemplation, but for the purpose of extending trade and national influence. Disease, shipwreck, and the cruelty of savages and cannibals left but one lonely vessel to struggle on through strange oceans, until, after two years wandering, the pilot and his diminished crew reached the harbour of Bungo. They were at once boarded by the junks which filled the bay, and the emaciated forms and listless eyes of the unfortunate voyagers gave free license to the covetousness that robs the weak. Soon, however, soldiers came on board to protect the property, and the sick mariners were assigned a comfortable house on shore, and their wants well supplied. Some Portuguese friars, coming from Nangasaki, visited them and almost wrought their destruction. The Papal and Protestant countries of Europe had long waged bitter warfare, and cherished religious and national animosities. The Pope had, a century before, delegated to Spain and Portugal exclusive right of empire over what proved to be two-thirds of the globe, and thus a shadow of just resistance to an invasion of sacred rights sanctified the selfish hatred of rival traders. The Dutch sometimes retaliated fearfully when their vessels, always armed, could conquer a galleon from the peninsula; so the Portuguese priests represented the strangers as pirates, and roused the hatred of the native converts by terming them heretics and blasphemers. But, fortunately, the case was carried before the imperial court, and the emperor commanded Adams the pilot, and one sailor, to be brought before him.

This Adams was a fine specimen of the honest, straight-forward.

manly English sailor, and his shrewdness and simplicity commended him to the king. With no barbaric contemptuousness or insult, but with a nice curiosity and consideration, the prince questioned him in regard to his native land and Holland, and all the natural characteristics and the political and artistic progress of the Western world. In repeated interviews, during a long confinement, the pilot answered the royal questioner, and showed him on a chart their passage through the Straits of Magellan. "At length the emperor gave the Jesuits and Portuguese this answer: 'That as yet we had done no hurt or damage to him, nor to any of his land, and that therefore it was against justice or reason to put us to death; and if our countries and theirs had wars one with the other, that was no cause that he should put us to death.' The emperor answering them thus, they were quite out of heart that their cruel pretence failed; for the which, God be praised forever and ever!" Adams was released; but the emperor, unwilling to tempt a further intercourse with these powerful nations, or esteeming Adams too valuable a man to be lost, dismantled the ship and forbade him to leave the empire. To the sailors he gave a liberal pension, but Adams enjoyed every honour and luxury accessible to any but the native nobility. At the emperor's command he superintended the building of a ship of eighty tons, on the European model, the Japanese shipwrights being admirable workmen and requiring only his general direction; and some time after he built one of a hundred and twenty tons burthen. He taught the king "geometry and the mathematics," and became the medium through whom even the Portuguese sought to gain imperial favours. Through his influence, also, two Holland ships, which arrived in 1609, were kindly received; and the officers, after being well entertained at court, received permission to trade on favourable terms. During the next ten years they succeeded, amid much opposition from the Portuguese, in establishing a factory at Firando.

We now approach that melancholy period from which Christianity has been a loathed and persecuted thing in the scenes of its former triumphs, and the once welcomed nations of Europe have been driven from these shores.

Persecution had commenced before the arrival of William Adams, and appears to have been hastened by the dissensions which sprung up between the rival monastic orders. The blind zeal of the old fraternities who poured in from India and the Philippines, could not abide the cautious policy of the Jesuits, but persisted in fanatical denunciations, and in public processions, and even in the erection of a church in the Holy City, contrary to an express edict. It is asserted that the faithful protest of the Church against the

licentiousness of the nation provoked the revenge; but the general testimony is, that the arrogance of the Romish hierarchy became insensible of the duties of common civility to even the nobility. It was the pride that goeth before a fall. The Japanese had not been tutored to brook the spirit of Hildebrand. In 1597 twenty-six professing Christians were executed on the cross, the churches were razed, the schools closed, and the faith declared infamous and subversive of civil authority.

This persecution raged with varying intensity during thirty years. Tortures, terrible as those which tried the integrity of the early Church, illustrated the sincerity and constancy of multitudes of Japanese converts; but at length an event occurred which at once determined the immediate extermination of all Christians, and the rigid exclusion of foreigners. Treasonable letters, written by a principal Japanese convert to the Portuguese, were intercepted. These papers disclosed a widely-organized conspiracy between the priests, Portuguese residents, and native converts, to secure assistance from Europe, and, after overthrowing the ancient rule of the empire, to establish a Christian government consecrated by the Pope's benediction. The agency of the Jesuits was clearly proven. The scheme was plausible, and perfectly in accordance with the political morality of a Church which acknowledges no rights that would impede her progress, and whose settled policy it is to secure the control of the secular power, and so compel submission to her dictates. The indignant emperor immediately issued a proclamation, decreeing,

"That the whole race of the Portuguese, with their mothers, nurses, and whatever belongs to them, shall be banished forever; that no Japanese ship, or boat, or any native of Japan, should henceforth presume to quit the country, under pain of forfeiture and death; that any Japanese returning from a foreign country should be put to death; that no nobleman or soldier should be suffered to purchase anything of a foreigner; that any person presuming to bring a letter from abroad, or to return to Japan after he had been banished, should die, with all his family, and that whosoever presumed to intercede for such offenders should be put to death, &c.; that all persons who propagated the doctrines of the Christians, or bore that scandalous name, should be seized and immured in the common jail, &c. A reward was offered for the discovery of every padre or priest, and a smaller reward for the discovery of every native Christian."

Such was the ordinance of 1637—an indignant precaution against the treachery of wolves in sheep's clothing, which has been in effect ever since. Its provisions in regard to the Portuguese were at once enforced. The native converts, although bereft of their accustomed teachers, nobly refused to abjure their faith, and, roused by despair, gathered in open rebellion in the city of Simabara. The imperial

troops drew around the devoted spot; the Dutch admiral, fearful of losing his new commercial monopoly, or palliating the act, as warfare only against the allies of Portugal and Antichrist, obeyed the command to bombard the town; and after a heroic resistance, the captured multitude, men, women and children, the entire Christian Church of Japan, was butchered as a hecatomb to Vengeance. "Over the common grave of the martyrs was set up this impious inscription: 'So long as the Sun shall warm the Earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the King of Spain himself, or the Christian's God, or the great God of all, if he violate this command, shall pay for it with his head.'"

Since this period no foreign intercourse has been tolerated, except a limited trade with China at one or two ports, and the annual arrival of two Dutch vessels. The few Dutch residents are confined to a little island in the harbour, and are subjected to the most irksome and humiliating restrictions. On the regular arrival of the ships, they are dismantled and searched; all munitions of war are taken from them, and every article of merchandise inventoried. The resident director is expected to make a journey, formerly annual, but now quadrennial, to the imperial city, with rich presents for the emperor, and most humiliating ceremonies were imposed. Until 1822, not the slightest intercourse was allowed with the natives on the road; and all the expenses of the journey, including that of the special police, were charged to the Dutch. Since then more liberty of intercourse and observation has been accorded to the embassy, but the harbour regulations are unmitigated. Russia especially, whose territories are contiguous, has persevered in fruitless attempts to open an intercourse. England, during the life-time and influence of Adams at the Japanese court, secured a treaty of astonishing liberality, granting not only the privileges of Japanese citizens, but the immunities and forms of British law, to resident Englishmen. But the East India Company having been unsuccessful, through some miscalculation, in their first mercantile ventures to Japan neglected their privileges, until the edict of 1637 rescinded them. Of late years, the field of the whale fisheries has been narrowed from the breadth of the Pacific Ocean to the seas lying along the Asiatic continent, and running northward to the Aleutian straits. Our vessels are frequently in distress for provisions and water, or are even wrecked upon those rocky shores. The Japanese policy has denied the sufferers all that relief and protection guaranteed by international law among all maritime nations. It is to solicit, or insist upon, the recognition of these natural rights of our unfortunate seamen, that the American expedition is sent out. It is a

secondary, although important object to secure to our steam navigation on the Pacific a supply of coal, with which Japan abounds, and which is in extensive use throughout the empire.

Referring to the map for an accurate idea of the relative position of these islands and their future commercial importance, we may remark that the four largest islands, Nippon, Kiewsew, Sitkokf, and Jesso, are respectively equal to Great Britain, Sardinia, Corsica, and Ireland. The soil is fertile and well tilled. There is an agricultural law, by which whosoever leaves his grounds uncultivated for the term of one year forfeits the possession. Tobacco, cotton, and silk are extensively raised and manufactured. The mineral wealth of the country is remarkable, and the arts requisite to its development have long been practised. Swords, that rival the boast of Toledo or Damascus; ornamental silver and gold; luxuries of the richest designs, and even telescopes, barometers, thermometers and similar instruments, at first imported, are now made by native artisans. The policy of the government represses labor-saving inventions, as prejudicial to the interests of the poorer classes.

The coasting and inland trade is immense, proportioned to the density of the population. Cities, or, as they are there deemed, villages, of thousands of inhabitants have grown into each other, until you may travel for miles along the main roads and only know, from the varying names of localities, that all is not one large city. By the best authorities, the population of the capital exceeds that of London, and other cities are peopled in the same ratio. The palaces and public buildings are of great magnificence, many being built of brown stone; but the ordinary material employed in building is timber and bamboo. In the interior of these dwellings cleanliness and order is always insisted upon, and the same regard for purity and elegance marks their personal appearance and general demeanour. The position of woman in Japan is far different from that of the sex in China and other oriental countries, and approaches the freedom and privilege of European manners. Permitted to enjoy unrestrained access to general society, and presiding at home over the hospitalities of her mansion, the Japanese lady passes beneath the tuition of a professional instructor, like the dancing master of our hemisphere, who imparts the science of graceful and accurate preparation of the tea, and its presentation to the guests. The females, moreover, are educated, as well as the other sex.

"From the highest down to the very lowest, every Japanese is sent to school. It is said that there are more schools in the empire than in any other country in the world, and that all the peasants and poor people can, at least, read. This is surely a noticeable fact, and a most honourable distinction. The minds of the women are as carefully cultivated as those of the men. Hence, in the

array of the most admired poets, historians, and other authors, are found very many females."

"The wide diffusion of education, which has been more than once mentioned, is of no recent date. The first of all the missionaries who visited the country, found schools established wherever they went. The sainted Xavier mentions the existence of four 'Academies' in the vicinity of Miako, at each of which education was afforded to between three and four thousand pupils; adding, that considerable as these numbers were, they were quite insignificant in comparison with the numbers instructed at an institution near Bandone, and that such institutions were universal throughout the empire."—P. 311.

"Our officers, who visited the country as late as the year 1845, ascertained that there existed a college at Nangasaki, in which, additionally to the routine of native acquirements, foreign languages were taught." "These people possess works of all kinds—historical compositions, geographical and other scientific treatises, books on natural history, voyages and travels, moral philosophy, cyclopædias, dramas, romances, poems, and every component part of a very polite literature."—P. 311.

"The Japanese printers keep the market well supplied with cheap, easy books, intended for the instruction of children, or people of the poorer classes. Most of these books are illustrated and explained with frequent wood-cuts, which are engraved on the same wood-blocks with the type. Like the Chinese, they print only on one side of their thin paper. An imperial cyclopædia, printed at Miako, in the spiritual emperor's palace, is copiously embellished with cuts." "Good almanacs, including the calculation of eclipses, are annually published by the colleges of Jeddo and Miako. It is quite clear that they are skilled in trigonometry and in some of the best principles of civil engineering."

Paper was introduced into Japan as early as the seventh century, and the art of printing was imported from China ten hundred and fifty years before its discovery in Europe. The alphabet has forty-eight letters, written in two forms, corresponding somewhat to our printed and written forms. The lines of letters run, like the Chinese, from top to bottom of the page; and an affectation of using Chinese words and characters is rapidly obscuring the clearer Japanese pages.

The traditions of the Japanese, like those of most ancient nations, trace their ancestry to the gods; but, from the ordinary indications relied upon in ethnological investigations, they appear to have been one of the primitive colonies of the old Mongol race, emigrating along the northern border of China Proper, and passing from the peninsula of Corea, from island to island, until they settled in Nippon. That they are not of the same race with the Chinese, is shown not only by the difference of their written character, but by the peculiar structure of the language; and the absence in either language of consonants found in the other, creates sounds so different, that they seem to require a different structure of the organs of speech. The purity of the Japanese tongue seems to indicate further that they were the first who traversed the northern Asiatic wilderness, across which they immigrated; or at least that they remained too

short a time in contact with any tribes through which they passed to acquire even a few of their idioms. For the same reason, although Japanese historians confess that in early days the Chinese came over in small colonies, and with their learned men introduced their literature and their arts, yet it could not have been before the native language and literature had acquired an independent strength, which could appropriate foreign suggestions without being denationalized.

Emerging from the shadowy realm of fable, the first historical personage in Japanese annals is Syn-Mu, who, binding the barbaric clans under one government, became the foundation at once of the kingly and priestly authority of the empire. Into this new realm he introduced chronology, and the division of the time into years and months, and established the laws and government of the country. He died after a life of a hundred and fifty-six years, a mere infancy compared with the chronicled ages of the celestial emperors in previous and more etherial times. Little is chronicled, except of civil war and various natural phenomena, until the year 78 B. C., when the people appear to have passed more decidedly from the shepherd and hunting life into agricultural pursuits; since then first they planted rice-fields, and fenced them in with ditches, and made fish-ponds in the interior of the islands. It was about this time, also, or nearly contemporary with the advent of our Lord, that the chronicle notes the first building of merchant ships and ships of war.

These emperor-priests, or Mikados, ruling as direct vicegerents of the gods, theoretically absolute, and adored with servile reverence to their persons, and even to their raiment and table-service, were yet, by a strange retribution for their assumption, resulting incidentally, or through the craft of their nobility, gradually shut in from exposure at the head of armies, and finally from all direct and important influence on any but spiritual affairs. To this day, his lineal descendant, confined in his palace from his birth, lives and dies in luxurious imprisonment. The secluded emperors encouraged arts and sciences, and many of them beguiled the loneliness of the royal prison by authorship and literary patronage. A growing distaste for the increasingly irksome honours and confinement of the palace, manifested itself by frequent abdications and retirement to religious contemplation; but still there were candidates enough for the untried honours, and sanguinary massacres of defeated factions secured the throne to victorious rivals. But as the country became civilized, and early superstition less controlling, the feudal chieftains neglected the ancient claims of the emperors, and banded together for their independence. Against their conspiracy the court had no

resource, but to entrust the entire command of its military forces to one promising young soldier, with the title of *ziogun*. Joritomo was the Pepin of Japan. He took advantage of the weakness which superstition forced upon his master, as the European usurper of the imbecility of the Merovingian kings. Only leaving the *dairi* a control over the spiritual concerns of the empire, he absorbed the entire secular control. Since then the dignity of the ancient line of emperors has degenerated into a mere honorary headship over religious worship, while, amid the luxuries of his palace, his actual power is checked by the surveillance of officers from the secular court.

In the thirteenth century the Japanese empire was threatened with subjugation by the haughty Kublai-Khan, who had just overrun China; but the Providence that guards insular independence shattered the immense armada of several thousand sail, and but three men only of the vast host were spared, and that only to bear to the khan the humiliating tidings. The event is important as having first given rise to that national policy which for nearly two hundred years prohibited all intercourse with foreigners. The authority of the emperors was more and more absorbed by the *zioguns*, and successive abdications witness the conscious humiliation of the station. The feudal chiefs rebelled against Nobunanga, the reigning *ziogun*, and the general who defeated the faction upon his return to the capital found the throne occupied by a mere youth. It was a favourable moment. The nobility were divided into factions, each aiming at the regency or the throne itself. Taiku-Sama, sweeping from a distance upon the rival parties, crushed them both, and installed himself the successor of Nobunanga. He sent the restless spirits who could not be broken to die in a foreign war. He it was who first assumed the title as well as the authority of Koboe, or lay-emperor, and who, according to Romish historians, confounding the Japanese Christians with one of the political factions, crushed it together with them. The wise energy of this great man is still felt through every part of the machinery of the empire, and for three hundred years the government he moulded has directed and controlled the progressive civilization of a people as energetic as the Saxon races with as much ease as it has the stationary civilization of the Chinese. So firmly is the State compacted, and its various interests interlaced, that the Dutch writers, who have had best opportunity of observation, doubt whether any disruption can occur without a quarrel between the lay and spiritual emperors. There is little likelihood of such an occasion, which would arouse the religious fanaticism of the people, so long as the present indifference is

cultivated, amid systems which have no hold upon the heart. It is painful to reflect, that while the former persecutions were hastened, and aggravated, by an insolence and political intrigue foreign to the whole spirit of Christianity, yet the gospel must necessarily array against its uncompromising, though kind aggression, the whole force of legalized superstition. What the worldliness of Romanism, outrunning its first policy, accomplished, that the severer virtues and morals of evangelical religion must effect. Christianity has never established itself peacefully in any civilized and unsubjugated nation. Christendom has grown up from barbarism beneath the nurture of a religion that strengthened in the Roman empire amid perpetual conflicts, until the civil power gave its seductive protection. The true Christianity, that draws no sword in its aggression, will ever find a sword drawn against it. It is painful also to reflect, that the peace of the empire must, ultimately, be broken in its progress toward that civil liberty and equality, which the literature, if not the intercourse, of our countrymen must gradually excite among a people so civilized and so reflective as the Japanese. Their feudal age is past, and the policy and wars of Taiko-Sama have done the work of the wars of the Roses and the confiscations of Henry the Eighth. The population is generally educated, and the middle classes, as we have already shown, are wealthy and refined. They need but the republican ideas. Friendly as our designs may be, America must inevitably give to Japan those elements of civil discord which other Asiatic nations are not sufficiently civilized to receive, at least for speedy germination. The progress of Christianity and the growth of liberty, everywhere and in Japan, must be like the production of her own volcanic islands. Restless upheavings beneath the surface of society; the explosion, and rending, and conflict of struggling elements; fire and smoke, leaving sterility and desolation to revolt the eye; then the gradual verdure and the deepening soil, the protecting forest and the waving grain, happy homes and pure altars.

The government of Japan, although in form an absolute despotism, is far from being altogether arbitrary, the ruler and the subject being, in almost every action of authority or private life, alike under the iron constraint of established usage. The administration is really conducted by a council of thirteen, selected from the nobility, or holding office by hereditary right. Under this council, in apparently interminable gradations, are the other state functionaries.

"The dignity of the lay-emperors is inherited by the eldest of their male descendants. In default of male issue, they adopt the eldest son of some prince of the empire, who is nearest to them in blood. There appears to be

a head-councillor-of-state, with functions and powers corresponding to those of the grand vizier in Turkey. He is called the 'governor of the empire,' and all the other councillors are strictly subordinate to him. No public affair of any consequence can be undertaken without him." "The council collectively have the power of dethroning the lay-emperor. When they adopt any important resolution, it is laid before the emperor for his approval. This is usually given, as a matter of course, without any delay, or inquiry into the matter. But if by any extraordinary accident, he should trouble himself about the concerns of his empire, attempt to examine for himself, and then withhold the expected fiat, the measure is referred to the arbitration of three princes of the blood, the nearest kindred of the monarch, and their decision is final, and very often attended with melancholy and fatal circumstances. Should their verdict coincide with the sentiments of the council, the *ziogun* must forthwith abdicate in favour of his son, or other legal heir. This despotic sovereign, as Europeans have considered him, has not, in these state cases, the liberty of retracting an opinion.

"On the other hand, should the three arbitrary princes pronounce the monarch to be in the right, and the council in the wrong, the consequences are still more serious. The minister who proposed the obnoxious act must die the death; the ministers who most warmly seconded him must frequently die also; and, occasionally, all the members of the council, with the vizier or governor of the empire at their head, must rip open their bowels. Under such responsibility, men must be little disposed to attempt new laws, or any sort of innovation."—Pp. 200, 203.

But in the hands of the administration, thus balanced within itself, the centralization of power is complete. The vassal princes are indeed nominally independent, but, with ironical kindness, the court appoints to each two well-qualified secretaries, who reside alternately in the province and at court. This double appointment extends to every office of any importance; and by the continual change, subservience to the government is secured. Every official is held responsible for the conduct of all his subordinates, and, in making its requisitions, the law has a Napoleonic ignorance of impossibilities. A few years since, when the British frigate *Samarang* stopped at Nangasaki, and, heedless of the puny junks around her, suddenly left, the law was broken which commands the governor of the harbour to permit no strange visitor to leave it until the court gives permission. As morning revealed the deserted harbour, the governor and all his officials retired, and with their knives made the fatal abdominal gash; and the governor of the province, although at Jeddo, the capital itself, more than a hundred miles distant, was imprisoned for one hundred days. But the most effective stroke of policy is that which requires the family of every important official, from the great lords down to the lower civil and military governors, to reside at the capital, perpetual hostages for their fidelity. No man, moreover, may refuse the appointment of a secret spy, and this organization of secret police is ramified down to the private relations of families. Every five houses in a village forms a com-

mune, for the good conduct of which the head of a sixth family is responsible. No family can remove without a written certificate of good conduct, from the neighbourhood it leaves, and an express permission from the one it enters. Every street in a city has its special superintendent. And thus the Japanese government, ubiquitous, omniscient, relentless, and wielding all human motives in their intensest power, appears to have realized the ideal of despotism, to which Austria and Italy have so long aspired.

Notwithstanding this minute and unsparing system, which, moreover, makes death the common penalty on the ground that death alone comes with equal punitive severity to rich and poor alike, the Japanese are of frank, manly bearing, and high-spirited and generous in disposition. It will be remembered that the laws do not affect religious liberty; and the long seclusion of the empire, and the absence of disputes as to regal succession, and of popular demands for representation, exclude the occasions for that political vengeance which gives to Europe a reign of terror. Most of the laws are merely an authoritative expression of the conclusions of experience as to agricultural, commercial, and economical expediency. The old laws are old usages, into which each generation grows up. The new edicts, brief and without explanation or penalty affixed, are posted along the roads, and permanently in the public halls of villages and cities, and, as nearly every one can read, all know the law at once. Where detection is inevitable and punishment so severe, crime has hardly any motive or hope. A merchant loads his oxen with richest treasures and drives them unguarded over any road, and with every exposure theft is almost unknown.

It is a part of the government policy to exhaust the revenues of the nobility by heavy taxes upon their old established incomes, and thus, while its resources are immense, there is no direct taxation or impost to burden or disaffect the people. The nobility are also bound to equip and maintain a contingent of permanent troops, while the entire population is under an organized militia system. The soldiery still use the primitive armour, adopted before the introduction of gunpowder, and with this the match-lock and heavy artillery, such as was first introduced. A peace of two hundred years, and the absence of any improvement in arms, or instruction in scientific engineering, have left them without any proper tactics; but the military are said to be hardy, chivalrous, and implicitly obedient.

The religion which is now considered the national faith of Japan, although it was, doubtless, preceded by rude forms, is called Sinsyn, from the words sin (the gods) and syn (faith), and its votaries are

denominated Sintoos. The Japanese mythology, like most others, vaguely shadows out the rise of the earth from chaos, and its subjection to various influences or deities, and finally committed to the especial charge of the sun goddess, Ten-sio-dai-zin, whose reign was only two hundred and fifty thousand years. She was succeeded by terrestrial gods, who reigned in all about two million years, the last of whom left upon earth a son by a mortal mother, the ancestor of the long line of spiritual emperors.

"Of all these gods of Sintoos mythology, none seem to be objects of great worship, except the sun goddess; and she is too great to be addressed in prayer, except through the mediation of the inferior Kami, or of her lineal descendant, the Mikado. The Kami consists of four hundred and ninety-two born gods, and two thousand six hundred and forty canonized or deified mortals. All these are mediatory spirits, and have temples dedicated to them."—Pp. 173, 174.

"According to Dr. Siebold, the Sintoos have some vague notion of the immortality of the soul, of a future state of existence, of rewards and punishments, of a paradise, and of a hell. 'Celestial judges call every one to his account. To the good is allotted paradise, and they enter the realms of the Kami; the wicked are condemned, and thrust into hell.' The duties enjoined by this ancient religion are:—1. Preservation of pure fire, as the emblem of purity and means of purification. 2. Purity of soul, heart, and body. The purity of the soul is to be preserved by a strict obedience to reason and the law; the purity of the body, by abstaining from everything that defiles. 3. An exact observance of festival days. 4. Pilgrimage. 5. The worship of the Kami, both at the temples and at home."—Pp. 175, 176.

The temples had formerly no idol, nor object of worship, but only a large mirror, said to be the emblem of purity, and strips of white paper, called gohei, having the same signification. In many of the Sintoos temples the images of the Kami are said to be kept concealed, except on festival occasions, and never to be worshipped. Private families keep an image of their Kami, or household god. A great feature in their ceremonial religion is a careful avoidance of impurity from contact with blood, even of the worshipper's own body, or from eating the flesh of any quadruped and of almost any bird. Contact with the dead, accidentally or at funerals, and even the death of a near relation, defiles and excludes from the temples. Fasting, prayer, and the study of devotional books, are the prescribed means of purification. When purified, they throw aside the robes of mourning, which are of white, and return to society in festal garments.

"But pilgrimage is the grand and most sanctifying act of Sintoos devotion. There are no fewer than twenty-two shrines in different parts of the empire, which are frequented annually, or more frequently, by the devout. The most conspicuous, and most honoured of all—the very Loretto of the Japanese—is Isye, with its ancient temple of Ten-sio-dai-zin, or the sun goddess. The principal temple is surrounded by nearly a hundred small ones, which have little else of a temple than the mere shape, being, for the most part, so low and narrow, that a man can scarcely stand up in them. Each of these temples, or chapels, is attended by a priest." "The principal temple itself is a very

plain, unpretending edifice, and evidently of great antiquity, though not quite so old as the priests and devotees pretend. According to the latter, the sun goddess was born in it and dwelt in it; and on that account it has never been enlarged, improved, or in any way altered."—P. 179.

This pilgrimage is considered a duty of every good citizen of whatever secondary creed, as a tribute of gratitude to the sun goddess, the founder and protectress of the Japanese nation. The emperors formerly went in person; but, from motives of economy and convenience, now send an embassy with presents. The nobility follow the example. But the roads, during the pleasant season, are thronged with pilgrims of every rank, travelling according to their wealth, or begging their way; and the poor strangers have their names worked into their coats, or painted on their drinking pails, in order that, in case of accident, it may be known who they are. Well may the votaries throng the avenues to Isye, for there may they purchase the "offarria," or "capital purification," which, with even more prodigality of blessing than relics from the new shrine to which the good bishop of Yprès is inviting us, insure "health, prosperity, and children in *this world*, and a happy state in the world to come." With great consideration also for those who cannot conveniently leave home, large quantities of these magical cards are kept on hand by the priests, and, for a varying consideration, scattered like leaves of balm to wounded consciences throughout the empire. There are countries where, if genuine Romanism cannot recommend itself by any high and unknown spirituality, it at least presents a more available system for quieting the conscience, and securing the formalities of worship. But Sintooism has its "mother of God" and its angelic and canonized Kami as submediators, its supreme vicegerent of heaven at Miaco, its ceremonial purifications, its pilgrimages, its anchorites and monastic orders, and its plenary absolutions. May it not yet appear that to a practical mind, like Taiku-Sama's, feeling innovation unwise unless it introduced some new idea, Romanism, apart from its political intrigues, seemed entirely superfluous, either as to morals or convenience? May it not be the secret of that perfect finish, which astonishes us in the European Romanism, that it was not the first attempt of its author, but a more complete realization of his idea, acquired by practice on an Asiatic model?

The monastic orders are of either sex, none of them confined to religious houses, and with very little profession of religious sanctity. They somewhat resemble the mendicant friar, but have closer alliances to the Eastern dervish. One order of blind Fekis make their living honestly, as musicians. With most unmonastic wisdom, neither sex

of Fekis take upon them the vow of chastity; the monks being mostly bound in marriage, the nuns being not in bondage to any man. Nevertheless, these sisters are said to be modestly clad, and of staid demeanour, mostly the well-favoured daughters of the Jammabos or mountain monks, and that, unlike the dancing girls of the Orient, they observe much propriety in making their appeals to the heart of the wealthy traveller.

The most prevalent religion of Japan at this time, however, is Buddhism, with its leading doctrines of metempsychosis, of final purgation, and absorption into the divine essence. It has many and uncouth idols, and its priests are bound to celibacy. The date of its introduction is uncertain, but appears to have been about the sixth century. There are now probably twenty Buddhist temples for every Sinto one. "In Japan, as in every other country where it exists, Buddhism is divided into a high, pure, mystic creed, for the learned, and a gross idolatry for the unlearned and common people."

There is another creed called "Suto," or "The way of the philosophers." Its votaries are the free-thinkers of Japan, rejecting all mythologies and all forms of worship, and holding merely those great truths of natural religion, which have ever commended themselves to the cultivated heathen mind, as it breaks the fetters of early and traditional superstitions. Like the philosophic schools of classic ages, they yield only so far to popular forms as courtesy and personal security demand, while at heart they despise such superstition. The cast of this philosophy is Buddhist. The all-pervading, all-absorbing Spirit, from which we came, to which we go, is alone to be thanked, or acknowledged. Some admit a personal and immaterial Deity, lying far back, however, from any connexion with the agencies that rule this world, which is the result of various contending or co-operating principles. In Japan there is probably a larger proportion of educated citizens than in any other heathen country, and the nobility, the literati, and the entire upper class, may be considered as atheists, or deists.

The period of suspense, while the world is waiting to see how soon this compact and highly-civilized empire, the Great Britain of the Eastern world, is to take her place among the nations whose power is felt around the globe, is a season which the Church might well improve, in pondering more fully the religious consequences arising from the rapidly-increasing moral influence of these new pagan associations. The Church must Christianize the heathen, or they will heathenize the Church. The time has been, when nation dwelt beside nation, and, except a narrow border land, each could cherish its own social and religious faith and habits, as though no others

had existence. Time has been when national influence was merely the power of the throne or the senate, wielded by an arm of force. Commerce, with its lure of interest, and its peaceful facilities of intercourse, is bringing the nations together, like adjacent townships, each traversed by the other's citizens, and each familiar with the institutions and affected by the sentiments of all. Education, as it brings to every individual mind a capacity to receive and cherish new ideas, brings also to each mind a power to give forth its thought; and nations, from whose inert mass a few learned men only, like salient points, gave out the electric thought to as few again, now vibrate with the galvanism of millions of thinking minds, and each heart pulsates to every heart besides. Literature, as the expression of thought, in its wide and cheap diffusion, will yet more make the world a whispering gallery, where every new idea that speaks is heard by all; and arts, and sciences, and opinions, will converge towards a common unity. These tendencies are apparent in the western hemisphere, and now strange peoples of the East are crowding in to share the mutual influence and the common destiny. Through the long-prepared channels of literature and education in China and Japan, the resources of European knowledge and sentiment, which have welled up so slowly for long centuries, and scarcely intermingled, may now be at once poured, as from a reservoir, throughout the Asiatic life and thought. The strength and suddenness of the reaction must be proportionate. And these new powers are not only social or intellectual agencies; but they are tremendous moral forces, for or against the truth. It is true that, within the huge systems of Oriental idolatry, the unnoticed thought, like the tropical ant, has eaten away all strength and substance, and at one resolute touch of science or philosophy they sink away to nothingness. But where they stood, spreads the blank waste of Atheism. The energetic civilization that shall trample idolatry under foot, will, left to itself, make a continent of infidels. And that continent will not lie for centuries to come, as in centuries gone by, secluded, like another planet. It is, henceforth, part of the common homestead of one great family.

Hitherto the nations have been, like isolated lakes, unaffected by each other's fluctuations or condition; but then all barriers will be swept away, and opinion and sentiment of every kind become one vast world-wide ocean, every section of which feels the tides and the storms, and affects the purity and the safety of every square league upon its surface. And how, in this last and fearful crisis, shall a pure faith and devotion predominate? Hitherto the evil influences have assailed us, and been defeated, in detail; but then each individual

heart, in conscious or unconscious coöperation with all others, must decide the question; as much as though the blessed air had no natural provision for preserving its purity, and while every healthful frame returned its breath pure as it was drawn, every diseased system exhaled a poisonous vapour into the common atmosphere. Is the moral atmosphere of our own Christian land tainted, even now, by the still checked vices and social habits, the private opinions and the public literature, of emigrants from the realms of formalism and infidelity? Is the increasing proximity of Europe, as it invites mutual exchanges of residence and constant travel, and places us in the very presence of all her intellectual and practical evils, a cause of deep solicitude to the Christian? Has the strong army of Mormonism, the Mohammedanism of the nineteenth century, located itself where its shameless iniquities must radiate impiety over the continent? And shall the Church, amid the gathering darkness of the western hemisphere, pass lightly by the question whether from the vast Eastern world the winds shall waft a gloom more dense and oppressive? Passing by the possibility of coercive measures against evangelical religion, how likely will the Church be to keep her children, and win the stranger to her fold? The Church of God will, it is true, never die out. Deep in the recesses of that spiritual temple abides the Holy One of Israel. Bulwarks and towers may fall beneath proud assaults, or sink into secret mines; court after court may be given up or profaned; but, as the impious tread of power, and learning, and wealth, intrudes upon the last and inner sanctuary, a fire goes out to devour the adversaries. But the long experience of the Church, from the time when Elijah mourned the triumph of corrupting heathenism, up through each successive reverse and apparent extinction of the holy nation, crushed beneath influences which a watchful and energetic piety might have foreseen and averted, warns us, that if worldliness, and luxury, and dreamy inactivity, shall keep Israel from heroic efforts to subdue nation after nation as God leads on the camp to the world's broad heritage, it is entirely in the order of his providence to let the unholy people be "thorns in her sides, and their gods be a snare," and the Church be taught, in generations of bondage, the lessons she would not learn in freedom. We *must* Christianize the heathen, or they will heathenize the Church! Just in proportion to our dereliction abroad will be our retribution at home.

The opening of free commercial and social intercourse with Japan is hardly to be anticipated from the American expedition; and however desirable such an event may be, the public sentiment of this country should at once repel the proposition to force an intimacy. The

official documents, issued by the government at Washington, had disclaimed the thought of compelling anything more than relief to our distressed mariners, until the last report of the Secretary of War insinuated a purpose, or at least a theory to justify a purpose, of coercing intercourse. The several objects which are desirable are entirely distinct. The moral right of a traveller, bewildered among the snow-drifts, to kind treatment and shelter from the homestead upon which he stumbles, is very different from a pedler's right to enter the premises and insist upon barter. The demand of a supply of coal for the steam-marine, which must crowd the Pacific within a few years, is also distinct in principle from a claim to general commercial privileges. The opening of highways, railroads, canals, and all the great avenues of rapid and safe communication between the different sections of the globe, has become a necessity like that of easy intercourse between the separate communities of each state. The ocean is the highway of nations, and although the facilities of navigation require expense in the vehicle instead of the road, the same principles apply to either case. The world, as one great state, may demand that whatever is absolutely necessary for the common highway shall not be withheld by any local law. It may not be land, or stone for macadamizing, but the mineral without which the otherwise open road is comparatively useless, which must be yielded at a fair remuneration. This great essential may be furnished by Japan without permitting foreign intercourse with the main islands, if a suggestion of the late lamented Secretary of State were adopted, and Japanese junks conveyed the coal to a depot upon one of the small southern islands. The other products of Japan are not thus necessary to the progress of general civilization. An able writer in a recent number of the *Edinburgh Review* broaches the aggressive theory unblushingly:—

“Every one is so far master at home that the law of nations has hitherto been very tender of authorizing a country to force its commerce or society upon another. But the rights of independent sovereignty must be so construed as to be reconcilable with the great principles upon which all titles of property or jurisdiction ultimately depend. It is difficult to entertain a doubt that, after so long and so patient a delay, other nations are justified in demanding intercourse with Japan, as a right of which they are unjustly deprived. The Japanese, undoubtedly, have an exclusive right to the possession of their territory; but they must not abuse the right to the extent of debarring all other nations from a participation in its riches and virtues. The only secure title to property, whether it be a hovel or an empire, is, that the exclusive possession of one is for the benefit of all.”

A truly British theory of political morals! A wise policy it may be for a nation whose supremacy, even over her own provinces, depends upon an extending market for the manufactures of her island throne.

Carried a little further, it obviates at least the moral obstacle to the obtrusion of her free-trade system upon ourselves. The single element of truth in the proposition consists in the principle above stated in regard to the *essentials* of general safety and welfare, and this applies to no other product of Japan. A sense of injustice, and desire of avoiding the civil commotion consequent upon an invasion, may induce the Japanese council to accede to the claims of humanity and necessity; but that policy which is not, as the report of the Secretary of War intimates, "an Oriental sentiment, hardened by the usage and habit of centuries," but the fruit of bitter experience of betrayed hospitality, cannot be abruptly or lightly yielded. Japan has only a coasting commerce, easily transferred to inland conveyances. Her shores are protected by alternate walls of rock, and shoals stretching far out and keeping large vessels beyond gunshot of most of her sea-board cities. Any extensive or permanent inroads upon a brave people, numbering more than the present population of the United States, crowded into the three main islands as into a fort, are out of the question. For the sake of justice and future brotherhood, and above all for the sake of religion, which, as distinguished from Romanism, may yet evangelize Japan, we trust that the American people, or at least the American Church, will sanction no movement towards compulsory intercourse.

ART. VII.—EXEGESIS OF HEBREWS II, 16.

THE original of this passage reads thus:—

Οὐ γὰρ ὁρίπων ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται, ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβραὰμ ἐπιλαμβάνεται.

The received version of these words is as follows:—"For verily he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham."

The controversy in regard to this place has reference chiefly to the sense of ἐπιλαμβάνεται, which our translators understand as meaning to take upon one's self, or to *assume*; namely, that Christ in the work of redemption assumed not the nature of angels, but assumed humanity, and with this nature came into the world. In this opinion Wesley, Buxtorf, Doddridge, &c., concur. On the other hand, Benson, Clarke, Bloomfield, and others, understand this verb as signifying here to take in the sense of *succouring* or *saving*; and hence the interpretation they give to the passage is, that Christ did

not save angels, but saved the human race.* Both *doctrines* are true. The question is, Which of them is taught in this text?

In view of the following considerations, the mind of the writer settles down confidently in favour of the former of these interpretations, and, of course, in opposition to the latter.

1. The definition of *ἐπιλαμβάνεται*. True, this is not decisive. This middle verb, in the New Testament,† signifies *to take*: for what purpose, can only be determined by the connexion. It may be for the purpose of succouring, as in Matt. xiv, 31; or for the purpose of imprisoning, as in Acts xxi, 33; or it may mean take in order to hold or detain for one's self,—*i. e.*, to accomplish one's own ends by the thing taken,—as 1 Tim. vi, 12, 19. It should be remarked, however, that the last-named, or *reflexive* meaning, is the characteristic meaning of the verb in the middle form. So far, then, as the definition of the word determines anything, it is strongly in favour of the received text.

This view is much confirmed by the parallel passage in Phil. ii, 7: "And took upon him (*λάβων*) the form of a servant." Here the idea of *assumption* is undoubted, yet the radical expresses that idea less distinctly than the compound verb.

2. To use this verb here in the sense of taking hold of to save, diverts the mind from the main point in view in this chapter, which is, not the relative nature that Christ saved, but the relative nature which he assumed. The first chapter of Hebrews is devoted to the divine, the second to the human nature of Christ. In the latter we are informed that the manhood of Christ was predicted;‡ that it was necessary to assume this nature in order to effect the ends of his advent;§ and particularly that these ends required identity of nature between the Saviour and the saved, "the sanctifier and the sanctified."|| And now it is in the midst of this train of argument that the sixteenth verse is introduced, and very appropriately, if the sense of the common version is adopted—that Christ took not on him the nature of angels, but of men. Whereas to stop here, and state that Christ saved men in contradistinction to angels, were entirely foreign to the writer's purpose, and interrupts the tenor of remark to lug in a thought which is not suggested either before or afterwards in any part of the epistle.

3. Again, it must be borne in mind that it is of the *holy* angels

* They, of course, approve the rendering given in the margin of our English Polyglott, viz., "He taketh not hold of angels, but of the seed of Abraham he taketh hold."

† And so, too, in classic Greek.

‡ Verses 6, (comp. 9,) 12, 13.

§ Verses 10, 14, 15.

|| Verses 11, 1, 2, 14 15.

that Paul is here speaking. Indeed, the fallen angels, or devils, are never, I think, spoken of in Scripture by the simple appellative, angels. When this term refers to them, there is always some adjunct, or explanatory word, distinctly indicating such reference.*

But, furthermore, evil angels cannot be meant here, because the writer has all along defined himself as speaking of holy angels. He has said much of "angels" in this and the preceding chapter, introducing that term no less than ten times, but in every case referring indisputably to good angels. And now to suppose that, in immediate connexion with all this, the apostle would use the same term in an opposite sense, meaning not good angels but devils, and that, too, without any word or phrase notifying us of such change, is utterly improbable and absurd. But if good angels are meant, then the version we oppose is perfectly nugatory; for then that version makes the apostle say that Christ did not take hold of the holy, unfallen angels to save them; *i. e.*, did not save beings that were never lost, and therefore did not need saving, and indeed could not be saved. In other words, it presents Paul as expressing a truism too childish to be uttered by any writer, inspired or uninspired. Whereas, to say that Christ, in his mediatorial work, assumed the human in preference to the angelic nature, and in the same connexion give the reasons for such preference, is to impart edifying and important theological truth.

4. If ἐπιλαμβάνεται here signifies to take hold of in the sense of saving, it makes the seed of Abraham the exclusive objects of that salvation. It excludes Abraham himself from the provisions of mercy! for by no possibility can Abraham be included in the *seed* of Abraham. But further, Did Christ undertake to save no other people but the Hebrews? Who thinks so? Isaiah thinks very differently. He says: "It is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob. I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth."

Bloomfield evidently feels this difficulty, and hence adds hastily that "the spiritual seed of Abraham" (Gentile converts) as well as the "natural seed" may be included. This is an unadvised remark; for although it is true, as this writer observes, that "seed of Abraham" is used in each of these senses, yet it is certainly never used in both senses at the same time.† This would be to confound things that are different. It would place all Jews, as such, in the same

* Rom. viii, 38 and 1 Cor. vi, 3 constitute no exception to this remark; the περιστάσεις show distinctly that wicked angels are meant.

† This would violate the first and plainest principle of Hermeneutics, viz., that no word or phrase can have but one meaning in one and the same place.

saving relations to God with truly converted Gentile Christians, which nobody believes.

Under the pressure of the same difficulty, Dr. Clarke is driven to explain σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ as signifying "the human creature," "man," in the widest sense of that term; *i. e.* all mankind! But this phrase is never so used in the Bible, and cannot be so long as language continues to have any definite sense.

But, on the other hand, if we give to ἐπιλαμβάνεται the sense of the received version, then we can render σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ in its plain, natural meaning, as referring to Christ's human nature; for of that "seed," "according to the flesh, Christ came." This reference of the phrase is not only authorized, but required by the inspired word; for it not only foretells that Christ shall possess human nature, but also, in the very language under consideration, that he shall be σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ—born of the lineage of that holy patriarch.* Indeed, we have little doubt but that Paul had the original promise in Genesis before his mind, and borrowed his terms from it, as he had just quoted a series of other prophecies, all foretelling that Messiah would be presented in human form. And we are strengthened in this view from the fact that ἐπιλαμβάνεται is not used in the aorist, or historic tense, but in the present, just as ἐπαισχύνεται had been used in verse 11: as though he had said, "According to Scripture prophecy, he taketh not on him the nature of angels, but he taketh on him the seed of Abraham."

And it is a circumstance not a little remarkable, that both Clarke and Barnes, after rejecting this sense of the place, do nevertheless avail themselves of it in their notes, and superadd it to the other sense! This is certainly a marvellous way of annotation, to make the same words, and in the same place, teach two distinct doctrines, having no necessary connexion, and that, too, when one of them had just been expressly rejected! We will not believe they wrote with so little sense of responsibility, but rather infer that so obvious is the sense here advocated, that these writers, even after arguing against it, could still not leave the passage, with any satisfaction to themselves, without allowing it, though at the expense of their own consistency, to speak out its own true and native meaning.

NELSON ROUNDS.

* Comp. Gen. xxii, 18 (Sept.) with Gal. iii, 16.

ART. VIII.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(1.) M. GUIZOT seems to be gathering up the odds and ends of his literary products. One of these is "*Shakspeare and His Times*." (New-York: Harper and Brothers, 1852; 12mo., pp. 360.) This essay appeared for the first time as an introduction to the French edition of Shakspeare's complete works, published at Paris in 1821. It consists of a preliminary essay on Dramatic Literature, with a brief sketch of Shakspeare and his Times, followed by special criticisms upon six of the tragedies, ten historical dramas, and three comedies. M. Guizot sees clearly whatever he does see, and expresses himself with even more than the ordinary French perspicuity. Yet his narrative abounds in inaccuracies, and his criticism in ineptitudes. "Shakspeare," he says, "cannot be translated into French." He might have added, that Shakspeare cannot be fully appreciated by a Frenchman, even though that Frenchman be M. Guizot.—A field in which the writer is far more at home is opened in "*Corneille and His Times*, by M. GUIZOT," (Harpers; 12mo., pp. 395;) which is a still older composition, published for the first time in 1813, forty years ago. The book, though not rewritten, has been changed a good deal from its early form. "So many years, and such years," says M. Guizot, "develop in the mind entirely new views upon all subjects—upon literature as well as life; and no one is ignorant of the discoveries we may make by changing our horizon without changing our ideas." An additional feature of this volume is the fact that a third part of it was written by Madame Guizot.

(2.) THE recent issues of BOHN's Libraries are, if possible, better chosen than usual. Among them are "*The Moral and Historical Works of Lord Bacon*," (12mo., pp. 504;) including the Essays, Apophthegms, Wisdom of the Ancients, New Atlantis, and Life of Henry the Seventh. A volume is to follow containing a complete translation of the *De Augmentis*, and the *Novum Organum*.—"The Life and Correspondence of John Foster," vol. i, (12mo., pp. 488,) is a new edition of a book too well known to need further comment. In the Classical Library we have "*The Greek Anthology literally translated into English Prose*;" (12mo., pp. 516.) The translation is mainly from the hand of Mr. Burges; but metrical versions by Bland, Merivale, and others, are added. The volume gives everything that can be needed by English readers. We have also "*The Olynthiac, and other Public Orations of Demosthenes, translated by C. R. KENNEDY*," (12mo., pp. 312.)—The Illustrated Library affords us a new edition of Maxwell's "*Victories of Wellington and the British Armies*," (12mo., pp. 528.)—a badly written book, but full of interest and incident.—The last volume of the Scientific Library is a reprint of Whewell's Bridgewater treatise—"Astronomy and General Physics, considered with reference to Natural Theology," (12mo., pp. 328.) An ample supply of all these Libraries is kept on hand by Messrs. Bangs, Brother & Co., 13 Park-Row.

(3.) WE have before spoken of Madame IDA PFEIFFER's adventurous journeys in nearly all strange lands. Her first impulse to travel led her to the Holy Land; and we have now an English translation of the record of her journey, under the title "*Visit to the Holy Land, Egypt, and Italy*;" (London: Ingham & Co.; New-York: Bangs, Brother & Co., 1852; 12mo., pp. 336;) which has reached a third edition in England. Like the "*Voyage to Iceland*," the work is a simple and unadorned relation of facts, candid, sensible, and interesting throughout. It is beautifully printed, and illustrated by eight tinted engravings.

(4.) THE controversy with Rome is to be waged anew; and, as a controversy, it must be waged chiefly in England and America. The Inquisition is one of the "institutions" of Rome. The theory of the Romish Church, as boldly avowed by its own writers in this country, is the theory of persecution. They tell us, without reserve, that religious liberty, so called, will exist, even in America, only so long as Romanism is subordinate to Protestantism. We are fairly warned. With such avowals, it behooves us to inquire, at least, with what sort of rule we are threatened in the day when Romanism *shall* prevail; even though *we* may put that epoch off to the Greek Calends. Every source of information, then, as to the claims, pretensions, and usages of Rome, should be diligently searched. And we are glad to know that this work is going on. More books, and better books, on the Romish controversy, have appeared in England in the last five years than in fifty before. One of the best of those prepared for popular use is "*The Brand of Dominic; or, Inquisition at Rome, Supreme and Universal*;" by Rev. WILLIAM H. RULE." (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1852; 12mo., pp. 392.) The design of the work is to give an authenticated statement of the establishment and progress of the Inquisition. For this purpose the author has recourse, not to the popular histories of the Inquisition—not to the many volumes of stories, of doubtful authenticity—but to sources acknowledged as authoritative by Romanists themselves. In every instance, he tells us, he has "used these authorities for himself." The work, then, is historical rather than polemical, and for that very reason it is the more trustworthy and valuable. The author writes with remarkable calmness and deliberation; and while, of course, he does not attempt to extenuate the enormities of the Inquisition, or to mitigate the just abhorrence in which the tribunal is held throughout the civilized world, he does not, at least consciously, exaggerate any of its crimes. No exaggeration, indeed, is needed to give effect to a simple statement of the terrible truth. He tells us how the Inquisition began, what it was in the days of its pride and power, and *what it is now*. For, to use his own language, the Inquisition is not to be spoken of "as an obsolete barbarism, or as a something that cannot any longer exist. It is a permanent, active, and vigorous institution of the Church of Rome. While the papacy survives, the Inquisition must live; for the spirit of it is not that of the middle age, but of the Church itself. Many orders have risen and fallen again within the bosom of that Church, because their interests were local, or because, like some of the military societies, they were not so constituted as possibly to be permanent. And special enterprises, like the

Crusades, that could not possibly be continued, have had their day, and passed off into the pages of history. But the Inquisition outlives every change, adapts itself to the condition of every country, works quietly amidst the most clamorous professions of liberality, and, while seeming to have been beaten away from the wide field of the popedom, and forced to retreat within the frontiers of the papal states, even there the Congregation of the Faith plies its agencies with an impalpable, noiseless, and all-pervading energy that mocks our jealousy, by eluding our vigilance. The inquisitors are actually conducting a crusade, in union with the Jesuits, against the civil and religious liberties of the world, and are causing that intensely ecclesiastical but worldly spirit, which is erroneously called Ultramontanism, to prevail in countries which very lately seemed to be open for a religious reformation."

We commend the work, as a candid, truthful, and temperate account of the Inquisition, containing much material that is altogether new, and as being, in the author's language, "more perfectly historical in its structure than that of most others on the same subject."

(5.) "*Pastoral Theology; or, the Theory of the Evangelical Ministry*, by A. VINET; translated and edited by Thomas H. Skinner, D. D." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1853; 12mo., pp. 387.) This work was not prepared for the press by M. Vinet, but is composed, substantially, of the notes which served as a basis for his lectures in the Academy of Lausanne. It is marked by the comprehensiveness of range, clearness of thought, profound learning, and admirable perspicuity of expression, which characterize all the works of M. Vinet. After an Introduction, laying out the subject and setting forth the necessity and nature of the Ministry, the work is divided into four parts, of which the *first* treats of the individual and internal life of the preacher; the *second* exhibits his relative and social life; the *third*, his pastoral life; and the *fourth*, his administrative or official life. All these points are faithfully elaborated, sometimes, even, with excessive minuteness of detail; and many of the statements refer to an ecclesiastical condition and to a relation of Church and State, utterly unknown in this country. The work, throughout, moreover, has a fragmentary character, which is, perhaps, due to the lack of the author's final revision for the press. But it is full of spirit, fire, and unction.

We present the following extracts as a specimen of the author's mode of dealing with practical points, and also because of their bearing upon the duty of Methodist preachers, who, by the rule of the last General Conference, are bound to catechise the children committed to their charge.

"Among our functions, *catechising* occupies the first rank. Religious instruction, well attended on, renews continually the foundation of the Church, and is the most real and valuable part of that tradition by which Christianity, not only as a doctrine, but also as a life, perpetuates itself from age to age. In this tradition, the importance of the sermon, properly so called, is the greater in proportion as it is addressed to hearers who have been prepared by religious instruction.

"Catechising is useful to those who are its immediate objects; it is useful to the parish, which has need to be, and, with its children, is catechised; it is use-

ful to the pastor himself, who, by the duty of adapting religion to the apprehension of children, is incessantly carried back to simplicity and the true names of things. On all these accounts, it deserves our earnest attention, which it also demands by its difficulty—not the same for all pastors, but always great. For it is a work which, besides all the requisites to good preaching, includes special requisites of its own. He who catechises well will not preach badly; though he who preaches excellently may be a bad catechist.

"Let the preacher do what he can to make the child remember, through life, the instructions he gives him. Let the hours of teaching be hours of edification; let the child have the feeling that the exercise is one in which he is to be active; let religious teaching have the character of worship: *action* and *worship*, these two characteristics, which ought to be interfused into one another, are too often lost sight of.

"Where ought a child to find his religion? All that he can find himself, he must find, but that is little; all the rest is in the Bible. It is the Bible that must teach him. Catechising presupposes the Bible, which it does but digest and systematize; and we say in passing, that its use after the Bible has not the same inconveniences with its use before it. It would be a sad error to retrench it, but not so great a one as to retrench the Bible.

"It is difficult to make a Catechism, and there are but few good ones. All things else being equal, I should prefer the most elementary—one which, conceived after a Christian plan, and reducing all things to a small number of principles, presents only the fundamental ideas on each subject, but expressed with vigour and feeling.

"It is very desirable that adults should take interest in the exercise, and be attendants on it, but we should not think ourselves obliged to change its character on their account. It would be unfaithfulness in respect to the children, and would be rather a damage than a benefit to the adults. Religion is never more penetrating, nor is instruction really more profound, than when Christianity is put in an infantile point of view. To present it thus, is to make it attractive to adults; the best sermon is not so attractive as a catechetical exercise, well managed."

There are many things in this book with which we cannot agree, but yet we welcome it as a most welcome addition to our scanty stock of books on practical and pastoral theology.

(6.) "*Woman's Record; or, Sketches of all Distinguished Women, from the beginning till A. D. 1850*; by SARAH JOSEPHA HALE." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1853; royal 8vo., pp. .) "Some readers," remarks Mrs. Hale in her preface, "may think I have found too many celebrities; others will search for omissions. There was never a perfect work—so mine must bear the general lot of criticism." This appeal would have been more valid if a more modest title-page announced the work. In a book of sketches of *all* distinguished women, one *would* expect to find the names of the mother of the Wesleys, of Mr. Fletcher, and of some, at least, of the missionary women of Methodism. With regard to the last, however, it is due to Mrs. Hale to say that she tells us "they were not furnished;" but we should really be glad to know to whom she applied for information. But, even with these drawbacks, and many others that we need not go far to seek, the book is a most valuable contribution to biographical literature. It is certainly the most copious repertory of facts about woman, or rather *women*, that is extant in the language. The arrangement of the work is faulty; it is neither alphabetical nor chronological, but a mixture of the two.

(7.) "*American Missionary Memorial, including Biographical and Historical Sketches*, edited by H. W. PIERSON, A. M. (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1853; 8vo., pp. 504.) The "*Book of Martyrs*" is fitly followed by the "*Book of Missionaries*." The world commemorates its heroes, and the Church should not forget hers. And the volume before us tells of heroes and heroines of the purest and the noblest stamp—men and women to whom duty was more than life. It contains a brief account of the origin of American Foreign Missions, and *twenty-seven* biographical sketches of American Missionaries, of all religious denominations—among them the foremost of the noble band, such as Judson, Abeel, Fisk, Cox, and Williams. It is delightful, as the editor of this work remarks, to "mark the *oneness* of the people of God of every name, as illustrated in their spirit and labours for the conversion of the world." The book is illustrated by thirty-three wood-cuts, many of them portraits. We trust it will be widely circulated among all the Churches.

(8.) THE late Rev. DANIEL SMITH was "in labours abundant," both in the pulpit and in his study. The books from his pen, issued by the Methodist Book Concern, are all of a practical character, and are well adapted to the wants of the times. The last work prepared by him before his death has just been issued, under the title "*The Book of Manners, a Guide to Social Intercourse*." (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1852; 32mo., pp. 202.) The book is written upon the principle that good manners spring from good feelings, and that "he can never fail to please any that are worth pleasing, who acts in accordance with the dictates of good sense and a benevolent heart," while no *selfish* man can be a real gentleman. The writer makes free use of all the best writers on the subject, and the result of his labours is a work combining the excellencies, and avoiding the defects of most of the existing manuals. We commend it as deserving a wide circulation.—Another posthumous work, from the same lamented hand, is "*A Guide to the Lord's Supper*, by Rev. DANIEL SMITH, (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1853; pp. 122,) and, like the former work, it condenses into a small space the substance of many larger treatises.

(9.) "*The Three Colonies of Australia: New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia—their pastures, copper-mines and gold fields*; by SAMUEL SIDNEY." (London: Ingham, Cooke & Co.; New-York: Bangs & Brother; 8vo., pp. 425.) This book is a repertory of information about Australia. It is divided into three parts:—1. Historical; 2. Descriptive; 3. Practical. The first contains an account of the discovery and settlement of the island, and of the various schemes of governors and administrations for its management up to the present time. The second part treats of the principal districts colonized, of their natural history, and their agricultural and mining resources. The third section may be called, in brief, a hand-book for emigrants. All these subjects are thoroughly worked out. The writer criticises the various colonization schemes that have been adopted in England with great severity, and is especially sharp in censuring the land system of the British government. Indeed, one great

object of his work seems to be advocate what he calls "the admirable system by which, for half a century, the vast territories of the United States have been colonized, cities have been founded, harbours constructed, railroads made, and canals cut."

(10.) ANOTHER contribution to the *romance* of History has appeared in "*Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, by Miss STRICKLAND, vol. iii. (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1853; 12mo., pp. 336.) This volume contains the Life of Mary Stuart, which Miss Strickland, after her usual fashion, writes as an advocate, not as a biographer. Everything that can possibly tell in the fair but frail queen's favour is given—nay, exaggerated—and the hard points against her are either omitted or extenuated. To those who wish a one-sided, but yet highly attractive sketch of Mary, this volume will be welcome.

(11.) THE value of Dr. Lardner's "*Hand-books of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy*" is well known to practical teachers. We have received the "Second Course," (Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea, 1853; 12mo., pp. 451.) which treats of Heat, Magnetism, Common Electricity, and Voltaic Electricity and contains a full and accurate digest of the present state of knowledge on these subjects. The chapter on the Electric Telegraph, however, might certainly have received some valuable additions on this side the Atlantic.

(12.) "*A Guide to Roman History*, by Rev. Dr. BREWER," (New-York: C. S. Francis & Co.; 18mo., pp. 474.) contains a brief manual of the History of Rome from the earliest period to the close of the Western Empire; designed for use in schools and families, and put in the form of question and answer throughout.

(13.) "*Philip Doddridge, his Life and Labours*, by JOHN STOUGHTON." (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1853; 12mo., pp. 222.) This is a reprint, with additions, of a Memorial delivered before the Congregational Union of England and Wales at its session of 1852, held at Northampton, the scene of Doddridge's labours, just a century after his death. It presents his mild, amiable, and yet manly nature in very fitting dress, and is worthy of general circulation.

(14.) "*Elements of Geology*, by ALONZO GRAY, A. M., and C. B. ADAMS, A. M.," (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1853; 12mo., pp. 354.) is just such a book as we have long wished to see, not only for school use, but for our own personal edification. It not only presents the elements of the science in a simple form adapted to beginners, that also gives tolerably ample discussions of the more important geological theories, and of their practical applications, as well as of their bearings upon Revelation. No work, on this subject, has appeared either in England or America at all comparable to this for condensation and clearness combined with fulness of detail.

(15.) "*Questions on the Gospel History*, by JAMES STRONG, A. M." (18mo., pp. 295.) These Questions are adapted to the author's excellent "*Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels*," and are designed for the use of the older pupils in schools, and for Bible-classes, Sunday-school teachers, &c. With this view they are far more *thorough* than the routine of those in general use, and aim to cultivate the student's judgment as well as his memory. We have examined them sufficiently to warrant us in commending them unreservedly.

(16.) "*Formation of a Manly Character: a Series of Lectures to Young Men*, by GEORGE PECK, DD." (New-York: Carlton & Phillips, 1853; 18mo., pp. 304.) This is one of the most judicious and sensible books of its class that has come under our notice. The *ideal* of a manly character is just and true, and it gives excellent practical suggestions for the realization of that ideal. The first chapter enforces the necessity of physical training—a branch of culture greatly neglected in this country. We take better care, in general, of the *physique* of our dogs and horses than of our children. The four following chapters treat of manhood of mind and will; and they are, perhaps, the very best part of the book. The chapter on Imagination is especially sensible and suggestive. Take, as a sample, the following illustration of *unduly excited Imagination*:—

"One instance of this class is that of an inequality of mind, or a want of due balance—an exclusive devotion to *one idea*. The men of this class mount some particular hobby, and ride it to death—or, rather, ride it till they *kill themselves*. In their imaginations, they make the welfare of the race, and the very existence of society, to depend upon their favourite scheme.

"Another instance of this class may be denominated *castle-building*. Concocting impracticable schemes, and dreaming over them night and day, until the sober realities of life become utterly insignificant, and the mind is only in its element while in the midst of a world of pleasant day-dreams and gorgeous pictures of wealth, honour, and glory. Delightful fancies dazzle the sight, and splendid fictions crowd the brain, a series of splendid visions pass before the mind and excite the sensibilities; this is thought to be possible, that probable, and the other quite certain. Reason is dethroned, and soon the wretched dreamer is deemed a fair candidate for the mad-house.

"Still another form in which the high excitement and undue action of the imagination show themselves, is that of *reckless speculations*. A man of business flourishes for a while, and seems to be in the high road to wealth; a pressure in the money market comes on, and he fails for *a hundred thousand dollars*. Some set him down for a regular-built scoundrel; while those who are alone competent to judge in the case, consider him a victim of baseless calculations,—an adventurous genius,—one whose imagination had become rampant, and had turned reason and common-sense out of doors.

"When the imagination is excited by strong temptations to do wrong, the moral sense, or conscience, is liable to be undermined. When conscience becomes blinded, or diseased, by some cause, which leads the imagination astray, then it may be said to be *corrupted*. It is probably true that all vicious actions, which are deliberately done, are first acted over in the imagination. The images of a certain species of wrong take possession of the imagination, and are there mixed up with a thousand sweets; the bait is gilded, and assumes every pleasant hue; a scene is created in which the lights are placed in bold relief, while the shades are far in the background, scarcely visible. The imagination is occupied with this scene, and by it excited and heated, day after day, and, perhaps, for years, before the dreadful result develops itself.

"The public mind is often shocked by instances of outrageous wickedness, perpetrated by individuals of considerable respectability. Funds are embezzled, virtue is assaulted, or a murder is committed, by some one not suspected capable of any such outrages upon morals. If the history of the mind and heart of the transgressor could be read, it would be seen that the immediate occasion of the offence merely brought out, or matured, what had been a thousand times enacted in the imagination. The real fall was not sudden, but gradual, having its incipient stages and its growth in the workings of the imagination."

The chapters on "Moral and Religious Manhood" show that the only sure basis for a manly character is true religion. Every other foundation is but quicksand. On the whole, the book is a most valuable present from the excellent author to the "Young men of the Time," and we trust it will be widely circulated.

(17.) It is never too late to do well. The publishers have been very tardy in sending us "*Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity, delivered at the University of Virginia, during the Session of 1850-51.*" (New-York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1852, 8vo., pp. 606.) But it is welcome; and we only regret that we cannot devote an article to it instead of a brief notice. The Lectures were delivered entirely by Presbyterian clergymen—a fact thus explained in the Preface:—"The only point which seems to need explanation is the fact that all the lecturers were chosen from one denomination of Christians. This was a point of much deliberation, and the plan adopted was considered the most likely to secure in the end the best and widest result. It was hoped that our example would be followed by the other denominations, as they in turn had possession of the chaplaincy: and thus only could all be allowed an equal opportunity. The material being inexhaustible, let each denomination draw up its own schedule, select its own champions of the faith, and publish its own volume of lectures, and thus, and thus alone, might we hope to have the flower of American Christian intellect in the several Churches engaged in a united assault upon the ranks of infidelity." We have reason to believe that the "flower" of the Presbyterian Church has been engaged upon the lectures before us, and the result is a work of which the Christian Church (much more any denomination of it) has no reason to be ashamed. We suppose there must have been some arrangement between the lecturers as to their several topics; if not, they have chanced upon a remarkable series of well-adjusted lines of thinking, going very nearly to make up a rounded whole of Christian evidences. Dr. Plumer's lecture on "Man Responsible for his Belief," is a fit portico to this noble edifice, albeit, as a portico, it is not so highly finished as some of the inner chambers. But we dare not attempt, in our half-page notice, to characterize the several lectures. The best of them, according to our judgment, are Dr. Alexander's on the "Character of Jesus Christ as an Argument for the Divine Origin of Christianity;" Dr. Breckenridge's on the "General Internal Evidence of Christianity;" and Rev. T. V. Moore's on the "Unity of the Human Race, in answer to the ethnological objection." But while the other lectures are of unequal merit, none are *without* merit; and the book, as a whole, is a valuable addition to the apologetical literature of Christianity.

(18.) "*The Complete Works of SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE*, vol. i: *Aids to Reflection and Statesman's Manual*." (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 12mo., pp. 484.) It is quite the fashion, in some quarters, now-a-days, to abuse COLERIDGE as a man possessed of great powers, indeed, but wasting them in dreamy indolence. And yet this man has made a stronger impression upon the thinking minds of the age than any other on English ground, and his writings and conversation have given a more manly turn to philosophical inquiry than existed among his countrymen for a century before,—not to speak of his poetry, which exhibits more varied powers than have been shown by any one man since the days of Milton. Believing thus, we cannot but rejoice at the appearance of the first volume of a collected edition of his writings. The series (of which there are to be seven volumes) will contain *all* his published writings, with the exception of his newspaper articles, which are omitted on account of their comparatively ephemeral character. The whole is to be edited by Professor SHEDD, who has given ample proof of his capacity for the task in the genial and able Introductory Essay prefixed to this volume, which contains also Dr. Marsh's admirable Essay originally prefixed to the *Aids to Reflection*. A very meagre index to the "*Aids*" appears at the end of the volume; we hope it is not a specimen of what we are to expect in that way throughout, and trust that an ample index to the "*Works*" will appear in the seventh volume. Without it, the collection will be still *incomplete*.

(19.) "*Outlines of Astronomy*, by Sir J. F. W. HERSCHEL." (Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea, 1852, 8vo., pp. 557.) This edition of a work too well known to require special comment is reprinted from the *fourth* London, (of 1851,) which contains the author's latest additions. There is no other summary of the facts of astronomy so full, accurate, and perspicuous.

(20.) "*The History of the Restoration of Monarchy in France*, by ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE," vol. iii. (Harper & Brothers: New-York, 1852, 12mo., pp. 554.) Each volume of this History appears to be an improvement upon its predecessor; certainly the narration of Napoleon's fall is a most admirable piece of composition. Lamartine appears to great advantage amid the flatterers and parasites of Louis Napoleon, uttering himself boldly and freely with regard to the overweening and unscrupulous ambition of *Mon Oncle*, and showing how it led him first to wrong and then to ruin. The present volume carries the history down from 1815 to 1821. The second restoration affords a fine field for M. Lamartine's power of scene-painting: the capture of Napoleon, the escape of Lavalette, the judicial slaughter of Ney—that ineffaceable blot upon the memory of that hard and heartless man the Duke of Wellington—are depicted with even more than his usual skill at picture-making. The closing passage of the volume contains, in few words, a condensed characterization of Napoleon's character and career, so just and so accurate that we cannot forbear to quote it:—

"The intelligence of his death changed the immense terror which had beset Europe during his life into immense pity. When people ceased to fear him, they

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ceased to hate. Impartial minds began to do him justice. Genius and glory were not denied to him; but it was deplored that so much genius and so much glory had only been consecrated to the personal greatness of one man, instead of being devoted to the amelioration of the world. This is where he failed to his destiny, to God, to humanity, to France, and to himself. The fine part of his character was not equalled by the good. He was the greatest man of modern times, but he was also the most sterile in results for the human race. He wasted France and Europe for fourteen years, without imparting to them an idea, a liberty, or a virtue. He shook the world without displacing it. France, however, which owes him a severe judgment, owes him also impartial gratitude. He made her illustrious; he made her resound with the splendour of his own name, during the early part of a century, through the universe. It is a service to aggrandize the name of one's country; for the name of a people is a spell in time and history, and a certain claim to immortality."

(21.) "*Pleasant Pages for Young People*, by J. P. NEWCOMBE." (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1853; 18mo., pp. 426.) This is a book something after the style of the fascinating "*Evenings at Home*," but more accurate and authentic in its scientific information. Its aim is to reconcile pleasure with useful instruction; and it is skilfully prepared for use in family education.

(22.) "*R. J. Wurst's Deutsche Sprachdenklehre, zum Selbstunterricht in der Muttersprache eingerichtet und mit einer Erklärung der Gebrauchs Methode versehen*, von WILHELM NAST." (Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1853; 12mo., pp. 172.) Dr. Nast is unwearied in labours for the benefit of his countrymen in America. The last "good work" in which he has been engaged is the preparation of this manual, which is everything that the title-page indicates.

(23.) "*Cornelii Nepotis liber de excellentibus Ducibus, &c.*" (Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea; 18mo., pp. 216.) This forms one of the "Classical Series" heretofore edited by Schmitz and Zumpt; but which, from some misunderstanding, we believe, between them and the Edinburgh publishers, has passed into other hands. The edition before us is well adapted for school use.

(24.) "Religion, with or without rank, wealth, beauty, rare endowment, varied accomplishment, or any singularity, can lift Woman to the highest distinction and confer the most enduring glory—that of filling well, not the narrow, but the wide and divine realm of HOME." Such a distinction, and such a glory, certainly belong to the subject of the "*Memoir of Mary L. Ware, Wife of Henry Ware, jr.*, by EDWARD B. HALL," (Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co., 1853; 12mo., pp. 434,) now before us. A true, faithful daughter, wife, mother, friend; with no eccentricities, no extravagances, no marvellous qualities of head or hand; but with an honest truthfulness of nature, a willing spirit of self-sacrifice, and an ever-loving heart—such was Mary L. Ware. It is by such women that woman's rights are best vindicated by the steadfast performance of women's duties. Mrs. Ware's religious life was pure and unspotted; and had she lived in a warmer atmosphere of Christian feeling, she would have been a model, besides, of Christian experience.

(25.) "*Meyer's Universum*" (New-York: H. J. Meyer, 164 William-st.) continues to appear with praiseworthy punctuality. Part XI. contains views of Liège and Seraing; a view on Lake George; Alcazar in Segovia (Spain); and Trajan's Arch in Benevento (Italy). In Part XII. we find the following: Wall-street (New-York); The Napoleon Column on the Place Vendôme in Paris; Environs of Cuma and Lago D'Averno, with Lago de Fussard; and the General Post-office (Washington).

(26.) Of the following pamphlets, essays, sermons, &c., we regret that we are unable to give anything more than the titles:—

A Tract for the Times, or Elemental Contrast between the Religion of Forms and of the Spirit, by S. S. SCHMUCKER, D. D.

An Appeal to Christians. A Sermon, published by request. By ROBERT ALLYN, A. M., Principal of Providence Conference Seminary.

The Balm of Gilead, a Missionary Sermon, by LYMAN A. EDDY. 1852.

A Discourse delivered by H. P. TAPPAN, D. D., at Ann Arbour, Michigan, on the Occasion of his Inauguration as Chancellor of the University of Michigan, Dec. 21, 1852.

A Funeral Discourse on the Death of Robert Craig, Esq., Richmond, Va., Jan. 9, 1853. By Rev. T. V. MOORE.

Catalogue of Dickinson College, for the Academical Year 1852-3.

Sixth Annual Report upon the Common Schools of New-Hampshire, the same being the Second Annual Report of the Board of Education of the State of New-Hampshire. June, 1852.

A Contrast between the Erroneous Assertions of Prof. Schof and the Testimony of Credible Ecclesiastical Historians in Regard to the State of the Christian Church in the Middle Ages. By J. J. JANEWAY, D. D.

The Christian Ministry: a Sermon delivered before the New-York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Hartford, Conn., June 13, 1852, on the occasion of the Ordination of Elders. By Rev. Daniel Curry, a Member of that Conference.

ART. IX.—RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Theological.

EUROPEAN.

THE elaborate, and in many respects excellent, Commentary of Baumgarten on the Acts of the Apostles is completed. We have received the second division of the second part, under the sub-title, "*Von Korinth bis Rom*;" (Braunschweig, 1852, 8vo., pp. 525.) Baumgarten belongs to the latest school of German theologians—that is to say, to the most orthodox; for the tendency of the German mind of late years has been toward the early and simple belief in the word of God as a divinely

inspired work. His present work is divided into three parts: I. The Church among the Jews. II. The Church in transition from the Jews to the heathen. III. The Church among the heathen. The first he finds in the first seven chapters of the Acts; the second extends from the eighth to the thirteenth; and the third occupies the remaining chapters.

The Bampton Lectures for 1852 were delivered by Rev. J. E. Riddle, A. M., and are now published under the title of

"*The Natural History of Infidelity and Superstition*," (8vo., pp. 520.)

"*The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*," by CONYBEARE & HOWSON (London, 2 vols. 4to.), is now completed, and is pronounced by European critics the most valuable contribution that has been made of late years to Biblical Literature—certainly the most elaborate and complete work on St. Paul that has ever appeared. The following extract from the introduction explains the plan on which the authors have prepared the work:—"To comprehend the influences under which he grew to manhood, we must realize the position of a Jewish family in Tarsus, the 'chief city of Cilicia'; we must understand the kind of education which the son of such a family would receive as a boy in his Hebrew home, or in the schools of his native city, and in his riper youth 'at the feet of Gamaliel' in Jerusalem; we must be acquainted with the profession for which he was to be prepared by this training, and appreciate the station and duties of an expounder of the law. And that we may be fully qualified to do all this, we should have a clear view of the state of the Roman Empire at the time, and especially of its system in the provinces; we should also understand the political position of the Jews of the 'dispersion'; we should be (so to speak) hearers in their synagogues; we should be students of their Rabbinical theology. And, in like manner, as we follow the apostle in the different stages of his varied and adventurous career, we must strive continually to bring out in their true brightness the half-effaced forms and colouring of the scene in which he acts; and while he 'becomes all things to all men, that he might by all means save some,' we must form to ourselves a living likeness of the *things* and of the *men* among which he moved, if we would rightly estimate his work. Thus we must study Christianity rising in the midst of Judaism, we must realize the position of its early Churches with their mixed society, to which Jews, proselytes, and heathens, had each contributed a characteristic element; we must qualify ourselves to be umpires (if we may so speak) in their violent internal divisions; we must listen to the strife of their schismatic parties, when one said 'I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollos'; we must study the true character of those early heresies, which even denied the resurrection, and advocated impurity and lawlessness, claiming the right 'to sin that grace might abound,' 'defiling the mind and con-

science' of their followers, and making them 'abominable and disobedient, and to every good work reprobate'; we must trace the extent to which Greek philosophy, Judaizing formalism, and eastern superstition blended their tainting influence with the pure fermentation of the new leaven which was at last to leaven the whole mass of civilized society.

"Again, to understand St. Paul's personal history as a missionary to the heathen, we must know the state of the different populations which he visited; the character of the Greek and Roman civilization at the epoch; the points of intersection between the political history of the world and the Scriptural narrative; the social organization and gradation of ranks for which he enjoins respect; the position of women, to which he specially refers in many of his letters; the relations between parents and children, slaves and masters, which he not vainly sought to imbue with the loving spirit of the gospel; the quality and influence under the early empire of the Greek and Roman religions, whose effete corruption he denounces with indignant scorn; the public amusements of the people, whence he draws topics of warning or illustration; the operation of the Roman law, under which he was so frequently arraigned; the courts in which he was tried, and the magistrates by whose sentence he suffered; the legionary soldiers who acted as his guards; the roads by which he travelled, whether through the mountains of Lycæonia or the marshes of Latium; the course of commerce by which his journeys were so often regulated; and the character of that imperfect navigation by which his life was so many times endangered."

The first volume of a new and copious commentary on the Epistles of St. John has appeared under the title of "*Die drei Johanneischen Briefe, mit einem vollständigen Theologischen Commentare von Dr. F. DUSTERDIECK*." (Göttingen, 1852; pp. 392.) This volume contains a copious introduction (pp. 1-112), treating of the form, contents, and origin of the first Epistle, and carrying on the commentary to chap. i, 28. The second volume, completing the work, is promised in about a year.

The "*Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, von HEINRICH EWALD, (viertes Jahrbuch, 1851-1852), has made its appearance promptly. It is full of Ewald's trenchant criticisms and fierce assaults; but yet, as a record of current Biblical literature, it is of great value.

We have received the first number of "*Protestantische Monatsblätter für innere Zeitgeschichte*, herausg. von Dr. H. GUTZER." (December, 1852, Gotha.) It is to be a magazine of religious and theological literature for all classes of cultivated people within the limits of evangelical Protestantism.

"*De Christologia Paulina contra Baurium Commentatio*, scripta J. F. RABIGER (Vratisl, 1852; 8vo., pp. 93), gives an adequate summary of Baur's Pauline Christology in eleven pages, and occupies the remaining eighty in refuting it.

MR. BLACKADER (13 Paternoster-Row, London) issues a new edition of the Bible, which must be of great value according to the announcement, which is as follows:—"This edition is framed on the model of the Chronological New Testament, and in a similar form, but it will have important enlargements in the way of general utility. In addition to the improvements of the New Testament, it will embody the chief variations to be found in the Oriental interpreters, viz.: the Samaritan, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Syriac, the Arabic, the Ethiopic, the Persian, and the Chaldean Paraphrases; so as to put ordinary readers in substantial possession of all that is valuable in the expensive Polyglot of Walton. It was said by the late Dr. Samuel Lee: '*The purely Oriental character and structure of the Old Testament defies in a thousand ways the efforts of ingenious conjecture, and demands elucidations derived from Oriental research.*' This method it is one object of the present edition to apply to it. But the readings of these versions, unless one knows well how to use them, and what value to attach to them, are of comparatively little use to the ordinary student of the Bible. It is not intended, therefore, to print these verbatim, which would be more curious than useful, but to give at the end of each book of the Bible a body of notes, consisting of thorough scholar-like matter from the best sources, and from well-trained Hebrew scholars. The work, at the same time, will be adapted to the ordinary classes of readers, who will thus have the means of employing the Bible as its own interpreter; the great objects accomplished being the removal of artificial hindrances, and the supply of ample as well as of judiciously classified materials for 'comparing spiritual things with spiritual.'"

We called the attention of our readers some time ago to Professor Maurice's

"Nineteen Sermons on the Old Testament," which treated of the historical parts of the Sacred Record up to the days of Samuel. A second volume has now appeared, under the title, "*The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament, a series of Sermons*, by FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, Professor of Divinity in King's College, London. Cambridge, 1853, pp. 480." In his preface the author says:—

"The conviction has been fixing itself deeply in my mind that the Old Testament ought to be read much more simply and according to the letter than we are used to read it; that we have not made its application to our own individual cases more clear by overlooking its obvious national characteristics; that if we had given heed to them we should have found an interpretation of some of the greatest difficulties in history and in the condition of the world around us."

The aim of Professor Maurice in this, as in his former volume, is to show that the narratives as well as the precepts of the Old Testament are full of principles applicable to individual and national life in all times. The following passage will illustrate his method:—

"It may, for instance, be very true and very needful to remember that the height of Saul's stature and the comeliness of his person, had much to do with his being made the first king of Israel. But if, instead of saying that the people elected him for this reason, we follow the Scripture narrative strictly, and say that he, being a member of an insignificant family in the smallest tribe of Israel, and therefore being most unlikely to be selected by the people, and having no dream of any such honour for himself, was marked out by God as the person on whom He would bestow it—I believe we shall obtain a light, not upon this fact only, but upon a multitude that have occurred in the history of the world, which stand in great need of explanation, and are certainly not explained by the commonplaces of ordinary narrators, even if they call themselves philosophical. In a number of cases (the annals of every nation, and of almost every age, supply some) an inconceivably trifling incident, as trifling as that of Saul going out in search of his father's asses, has brought forth the man whom a people feel to be, not selected by them, but given to them; whom they adopt and embrace, they know not why; and who, whether or not he is able to guide and govern them, proves to be a faithful representative of their own state of mind,

the very type and embodiment of that character and those habits of mind which they are themselves exhibiting. This is the fact. It has nothing to do with theories about who are or ought to be the choosers of a ruler, with the maxims which guide or should guide their choice of him. He is there; he comes to them. Whether you like it or not, you must refer, you do refer, his appearance to some invisible agency. You may call that agency Chance, if you like. If you know no other name, that is of course the one which you will resort to. If you are content with it there is no more to be said. But mankind has not been content with it. Men have said, there must be an order in these events apparently so fortuitous. They have insisted upon knowing something about that order and who directs it. If now, in this nineteenth century, this century of science, you choose to say there is no order in all this—your language at all events sounds as if you were retrograding not progressing, as if you were falling back upon the crudest notions of barbarism."

A new translation (in German) of Josephus's Jewish Antiquities has appeared under the title "*Die Jüdischen Alterthümer des Flavius Josephus, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Dr. K. Martin.*" (Köln, 1852; 12mo., pp. 668.) Dr. Martin is Professor of (Roman Catholic) Theology in the University of Bonn.

"*Ueber den alte und neutestamentlichen Cultus.*" (Stuttgart, 1852, 8vo., pp. 273.) is a treatise by Dr. ERNEST SARTORIUS, (whose practical essay on the "Person of Christ" has been translated and published in this country,) on the Sabbath and Worship of the old and new dispensations.

The last issues of Clark's Foreign Theological Library are, *The Christian Doctrine of Sin*, exhibited by Dr. JULIUS MÜLLER, Professor of Theology in Halle, translated by WILLIAM PULSFORD, Vol. I.: and *A General Historico-Critical Introduction to the Old Testament*, by H. A. HAVERNICK, translated by WILLIAM LINDSAY ALEXANDER, D. D.

We have received, but have not been able closely to examine, "*Der Galaterbrief, übersetzt in seinen geschichtlichen Beziehungen, untersucht und erklärt von Dr. ADOLF HILGENFELD.*" (Leipzig, 1852; 8vo., pp. 240.) It gives a general introduction to the Epistle (pp. 1-96); and then divides the exposition of the text into three

parts: 1. The apologetic part to chap. ii, 21. 2. The dogmatic part, chap. iii, iv. 3. The hortatory part, *ad fin.* (pp. 96-234.) The Appendix gives an essay on the chronology of Paul's labours.

"*Chapters on the Teaching of the Roman Church, proving it to be unscriptural, absurd and scandalous*, by HENRY FISH, M. A.," (London, 1853; 12mo., pp. 202.) is a work intended to present an abbreviated, but nevertheless a clear view of the dogmatic theology of the Roman Church, derived from undeniable authorities. It shows (1) that Rome proscribes the Bible: (2) that she perverts the Sacraments: (3) that she makes worship superstitious and idolatrous: (4) that she usurps unauthorized dominion over soul and conscience: and (5) that she sustains that usurpation by persecution and cruelty. We notice that the writer makes much use of Dr. Elliott's great work, "*The Delineation of Roman Catholicism*,"—that vast repository of facts and arguments on the Romish controversy.

We have received the second volume of "*The Greek Testament, for the use of Theological Students and Ministers*, by HENRY ALFORD, B. D., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge." (London, 1825; 8vo., pp. 687.) This volume contains the Acts of the Apostles, with the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians. It furnishes, together with a critically revised text, a digest of various readings; marginal references to verbal and idiomatic usage; Prolegomena to each book, and a critical and exegetical commentary. The peculiarities of the work are:—1. The text is arranged on critical principles, regard being had to the internal evidence for and against every reading, as well as the external evidence of manuscripts; 2. The reasons for adopting or rejecting any reading are given in the digest; 3. The digest professes to give a complete account of the various readings. It will probably take two more volumes to complete the work.

We continue our statement of the contents of the principal foreign theological Journals.

The Theologische Studien und Kritiken, (Hamburg, January, 1853), contains the following articles:—I. Melancthon and his Disciples as Moral Philosophers, by Dr. Schwarz of Jena: II. Josephus and his Greek and Hellenistic predecessors—a letter from Dr. F. Kreuzer: III. On the origin of the usage of folding the hands in prayer, by Professor Vierordt of Karlsruhe: IV. Observations on the *Synagoga Magna*, by Dr. Heidenheim, of Worms: V. A review

of Hofmann's *Schriftbeweis*, by F. Auberten : VI. A review of Ewald's *Antiquities of the Jewish People*, by Metzger : VII. The refusal of the Archbishop of Freiburg to allow the burial-service for the Arch-Duke Leopold of Baden, by Dr. Ullmann : VIII. A Memorial of J. G. Eichhorn, by Dr. Umbreit.

Eclectic Review, for November :—I. The Museum and the National Gallery : II. Pascal : III. Memoirs of the Baroness D'Oberkirch : IV. Australian Progress : V. Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon* : VI. Cooper's *Free Church of Christendom* : VII. Horace St. John's *British India* : VIII. Government Persecutions. *December* :—I. Flourens on Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire and *Philosophic Anatomy* : II. The Papacy—its History and Genius : III. The Great Salt Lake and the Mormons : IV. Life and Letters of Judge Story : V. History of the Council of Trent : VI. Uncle Tom's Cabin and its Opponents : VII. Pastoral Theology—Power in the Pulpit. *January* :—I. The Hungarian Struggle and Arthur Görgey : II. Scottish Preachers and Preaching : III. Thackeray's History of Colonel Esmond : IV. British South Africa : V. Solwan ; or, Waters of Comfort : VI. Religious Persecutions in Tuscany : VII. The Distribution of the Representation. *February* :—I. National Education—Local Scheme : II. Lord John Russell's Memoirs of Thomas Moore : III. The Defence of Christianity : IV. The Colloquies of Edward Osborne : V. Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century : VI. Marsden's History of the Later Puritans : VII. The Methodist Theory and Practice of Excommunication.

North British Review, for February :—I. The Prospects of France and the Dangers of England : II. Scottish Philosophy : III. The Sabbath in the Nineteenth Century : IV. European Navigators in Early Times : V. Litton on the Church : VI. Progressive aspects of Literature—recent Essays : VII. The Universe and its Laws : VIII. Government of the East India Company : IX. The Legal Profession and the County Courts.

Westminster Review, for January :—I. Mary Tudor : II. Condition and Prospects of Ireland : III. Charity, noxious and beneficent : IV. The English Stage : V. American Slavery, and Emancipation by the Free States : VI. The Atomic Theory, before Christ and since : VII. History and Ideas of the Mormons : VIII. Daniel Webster : IX. Contemporary Literature of England, America, Germany, and France.

Irish Quarterly Review, for December :—I. Untranslated Novelists—Alphonse Karr :

II. The Streets of Dublin, and Anecdotes of the City and Citizens before the Union : III. Lady Blessington : IV. Mr. Worsaae on the Danes and Norwegians in Ireland. V. Head's "Tour in Ireland : VI. Thackeray's "Esmond."

Kito's Journal of Sacred Literature, for January :—I. Why have the Greek and Roman Writers so rarely alluded to Christianity ? II. The Rephaim (concluded) : III. Moses Stuart : IV. Ewald on the Prophets : V. The Resurrection of the Body : VI. Auricular Confession : VII. Hebrew Literature : VIII. Who are the "Spirits in Prison ?" IX. Hippolytus and his Age.

Edinburgh Review, for January :—I. Bunsen's Hippolytus and his Age : II. Jervis's History of the Island of Corfu and the Ionian Islands : III. Saul of Tarsus : IV. Hungarian Revolution : V. Cathedral Reform : VI. Our Indian Army : VII. Montalembert : VIII. Mrs. Jameson's Legends of the Madonna as represented in the Fine Arts : IX. Fall of the Derby Ministry.

British Quarterly Review, for February :—I. Bunsen's Hippolytus—the Ancient and Modern Church : II. Giuseppe Giusti—his Life and Poetry : III. Rio de la Plata—its latest History : IV. Middle Age Travellers in the East : V. Mackay's Religious Development in Greece : VI. Project of the Crystal Palace Commissioners : VII. The Anatomy of Despotism.

Quarterly Review, for December :—I. Vauxhall Factory Schools : II. Life and Letters of Justice Story : III. Indian Administration—East India Company's Possessions : IV. Meteors, Aerolites, and Shooting Stars : V. Cloister Life of Charles V. : VI. Montalembert on Catholic Interests : VII. British Museum : VIII. Memoirs of Wordsworth : IX. The Budget and its Results.

English Review, for January :—I. Bunsen's Hippolytus : II. Kingsley's Sermons on National Subjects : III. Life and Times of St. Bernard : IV. Bandinel's Milton Davenport : V. Cooley's Africa : VI. Missions of the English Church : VII. The Irish Church and her Prospects.

New Quarterly Review, for January :—I. Retrospect of the Literature of the Quarter : II. Moore's Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence : III. Thackeray and the Age of Queen Anne : IV. Smatterers in Oriental Literature : V. Falsifications of Food : VI. Whim-whams and Opinions of Sir Archibald Alison, Bart. : VII. India—how the Hindú Thrall is ruled : VIII. Anecdotes of Wellington : IX. Miss Strick-

land's Lives of the Queens of Scotland: X. Sir Francis Head's Fortnight in Ireland.

AMONG the new works in Theology and kindred subjects recently announced in Great Britain are the following:—

Apostolical Missions; five sermons preached before the University of Cambridge in May, 1852, by W. B. HOPKINS, M. A.:—Faith confirmed by Reason and Authority; the Hulsean Lectures preached before the University of Cambridge, 1852, by the Rev. G. CUREY, B. D., preacher at the Charterhouse, and Boyle's Lecturer:—The Revival of the French Emperors Anticipated from the Necessity of Prophecy, by GEORGE STANLEY FABER, B. D., Master of Sherburn Hospital, and Prebendary of Salisbury, fcap. 8vo., cloth:—Also, by the same author, The Difficulties of Romanism in respect to Evidence; or, the Peculiarities of the Latin Church evinced to be untenable on the principles of legitimate Historical Testimony; third and cheaper edition, revised and remoulded. 8vo., cloth:—St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians; edited, with critical notes and dissertations, &c., by the Rev. A. P. STANLEY, M. A., Canon of Canterbury, late Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford. 8vo.:—St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans; edited, with critical notes and dissertations, by the Rev. B. JOWETT, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford. 8vo.:—A History of the Christian Church, for the use of students in theology and general readers; Part I., to the Reformation; by Rev. JAMES C. ROBERTSON, M. A., Vicar of Bekesbourne, near Canterbury. 2 vols., 8vo.:—The Rise of the Papal Power, traced in three Lectures, by ROBERT HUSSEY, B. D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History:—Memorials of the English Martyrs, by the Rev. C. B. TAYLOR, M. A., Rector of Otley; with upwards of thirty engravings; in post 8vo.:—John de Wiclif, a Monograph; including an account of the Wiclif MSS. in the British Museum, Oxford, Cambridge, Lambeth Palace, and Trinity College, Dublin; with a portrait and a series of illustrations from drawings taken at Wiclif and Lutterworth; by ROBERT VAUGHAN, D. D. One vol., small 4to.:—Modern Rationalism, and the Inspiration of the Scriptures, by Rev. T. R. BIRKS, M. A., Rector of Kelshal; in foolscap 8vo.:—The Footsteps of Immanuel on the Lake, by Rev. GEORGE S. WEIDEMANN, incumbent of Kingswood, Gloucestershire; in one vol., foolscap 8vo.:—The Jesuits, a Historical Sketch, by Rev. E. W. GRINFIELD,

in one vol., foolscap 8vo.:—The Mission and Martyrdom of St. Peter; containing the original texts of all the passages in ancient writers, supposed to imply a journey from the east; with translations and Roman Catholic comments; with prefatory notices by Rev. Dr. M'Caul and Rev. Dr. Cumming; by T. C. SIMON, Esq.; 8vo.:—Romanism as it exists in Rome, exhibited in various inscriptions and other documents in the churches in that city, collected by Hon. J. W. PERCY; in crown 8vo.:—Letters to a Waverer on the Romish Controversy, by Rev. SAMUEL HOBSON, LL. B., Perpetual Curate of Butley, Suffolk; in 12mo.:—The Jesuits as they were and are; from the German of Duller; translated by Mrs. STANLEY CARR, with a Preface by Sir CULLING EARDLEY, Bart.; in foolscap 8vo.:—The Religious Condition of Christendom, exhibited in a series of papers prepared at the instance of the Evangelical Alliance, edited by EDWARD STEANE, D. D.; 8vo.:—A History of the Jesuits, their origin, progress, doctrines, and designs, by G. B. NICOLINI, of Rome; crown 8vo.:—A Manual of Buddhism, containing the Legendary Life of Gotama Budha, with notices of his predecessors, and an account of the cosmology, ontology, and ethics of his religious system; translated from the Singalese, by R. SPENCE HARDY, author of "Eastern Monachism;" demy 8vo.

AMONG the books in Theology, &c., recently announced on the continent of Europe are the following:—

Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft von Heinr. Ewald. 4. Jahrb. 1851–52. Göttingen, 1852. 234 pp., 8vo.

Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus in den Jahren 1555–1581. Dargestellt von Dr. Heinr. Hepp. I. Band. Die Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus von 1555–1562 enthaltend. Marburg, 1852. 498 pp., 8vo.

Die Religion und das Recht der Welt; nebst einem Anhang über den moralischen, geistigen und politischen Charakter unserer Zeit. Von Dr. Gust. Widemann. Nördlingen, 1852. 232 pp., 8vo.

Das Evangelium Marcions. Text und Kritik, mit Rücksicht auf die Evangelien des Märtyrers Justin, der Clementinen und der apostolischen Väter. Eine Revision der neuern Untersuchungen nach den Quellen selbst, zur Textbestimmung und Erklärung des Lukas-Evangeliums. Von Dr. Gust. Volkmar, ordentl. Hauptlehrer der alten Sprachen am Gymnasium zu Fulda. Leipzig, 1852. VIII. 268 pp., 8vo.

AMERICAN.

Messrs. HARPER & BROTHERS have in press the "*Life and Letters of Dr. OLIN*," which will be issued in two volumes, 12mo., within the present week. The work will be one of great interest, not only to the Church in whose service Dr. Olin spent his life, but also to the general public. Besides the biography proper, it will contain a very large collection of Dr. Olin's letters, with sketches of his character by Dr. Bates, Dr. Wightman, Dr. Lee, Dr. Holdich, and others, illustrating different points of his life. A richer subject for biography has not been offered of late years, and we anticipate, in the forthcoming work, a most valuable addition to our literature in this department.

In the second volume of the *Life and Writings of President John Adams*, we find the following reference to Captain Webb, whose name is so intimately connected with the early history of Methodism in America:—"1774. Oct. 23, Sunday.—[Philadelphia].—In the evening I went to the Methodist meeting, and heard Mr. Webb, the old soldier, who first came to America in the character of quarter-master, under General Braddock. He is one of the most fluent, eloquent men I ever heard."

The "*Annual Report of the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1853*" (8vo., pp. 104) gives gratifying proof of the constantly-increasing interest of the Church in the Sunday-school branch of its duties. The total number of schools is 9,674, being an increase of 368 over last year's enumeration: number of officers and teachers 98,031, being an increase of 4,470; number of scholars 504,679, increase 31,368: number of library volumes 1,402,010, increase 141,452: number of Bible-classes 7,213, increase 1,179. Within the last six years the increase in the number of schools has been two thousand nine hundred and sixty-three, of teachers thirty-six thousand nine hundred and forty-one, and of scholars one hundred and eighty-four thousand and forty-nine. The department of publication shows the usual vigour: numerous additions have been made during 1852. The present circulation of the *S. S. Advocate* to regular subscribers is one hundred and ten thousand. Who can estimate the Christianizing and civilizing power of these potent agencies at work all over the land?

Messrs. Carlton & Phillips, 200 Mulberry-st., N. Y., have in press the following works, viz.:—*New-York: a Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the*

Metropolitan City of America, by a New-Yorker; with engravings, 12mo.:—*Lights of the World*; or, *Illustrations of Character*, drawn from the Records of Christian Life, by Rev. JOHN STROUGHTON; 12mo.:—*Lives of the Popes*, from the rise of the Roman Church to Pope Pius IX.; 12mo.:—*Three Months under the Snow*; the *Journal of a Young Inhabitant of the Jura*; translated from the French of J. J. PORCHAT; 18mo.:—*Money: its Nature, History, Uses, and Responsibilities*; 18mo.:—*Caxton and the Art of Printing*; from the London edition; 18mo.:—*Family and Social Melodies*; a Collection of Choice Tunes and Hymns, especially adapted to Family and Social Devotion; by Rev. W. C. HOYT; 8vo.:—*Manual of the Gospels*; being an abridgment of the Author's "*Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels*," for the use of Sunday schools, Bible-classes, and Families, by JAMES STRONG, A. M.; 16mo.:—FRANK HARRISON: *The History of a Wayward Boy*; 18mo.:—*The Children of the Bible*; 18mo.:—*Quiet Thoughts for Quiet Hours*; 18mo.:—*Old Humphrey's Friendly Appeals*; 18mo.:—*Father Reeves, the Methodist Class-Leader*; a brief account of Mr. William Reeves, thirty-four years a class-leader in the Wesleyan Methodist Society, Lambeth, by EDWARD CORDEROX; 18mo.:—*Manual of Biblical Literature*, by W. P. STRICKLAND; 12mo.:—*The Right Way*; or, *Practical Lectures on the Decalogue*, by J. T. CRANE, A. M., of the New-Jersey Conference.

J. P. MAGEE, 5 Cornhill, Boston, has in press, "*Ministerial Education in the Methodist Episcopal Church*," by Rev. STEPHEN M. VAIL, A. M., Professor of Biblical Literature in the M. E. Biblical Institute, Concord, N. H." 1 vol. 12mo. The work will appear in the course of the present month.

J. C. RIKER, Fulton-street, will shortly issue "*A Harmony of the Gospels, in the Greek of the received Text*," by JAMES STRONG, A. M., on the plan of the author's *English Harmony*; with the most important Various Readings, brief Grammatical Suggestions, select Biblical References, and Chronological Notes, for the use of students and others. The work will be beautifully printed on new Porsonian type; one broad 12mo. volume of about 300 pages.

METHODIST MISSIONS.

The "*Thirty-Fourth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*" for 1853 is published, not in pamphlet form, but as a number of the

Missionary Advocate. As the missionary year will hereafter commence with January instead of May, the Board have not deemed it necessary to print a full pamphlet Report for this year. Nevertheless, the present document is unusually valuable and interesting—so much so that we think it advisable to put its prominent points into a more permanent form in our own pages.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1853.—On the 8th of November, 1852, the General Missionary Committee met in New-York, to make the appropriations for 1853. After ascertaining the wants of the DOMESTIC MISSIONS, the question was taken up, *Shall we extend our missionary work abroad?* It was necessary to determine three preliminary questions in order to answer this main question. First, Was the general sentiment of the Church in favour of such extension? On this point the Committee, the Bishops, and the Board, felt no doubt, as their general intercourse with the Church, as well as the resolutions of several Annual Conferences and of the General Conference, and the correspondence with the office of the Corresponding Secretary, gave full assurance. The second question was, Whether the Church was able to sustain an extension of her missions? Of this there could be no doubt. It only remained to inquire whether there were fields open to such extension? It was only necessary to lift up our eyes and look upon the fields, for, lo! they were already white unto the harvest.

1. *India*.—A mission was authorized in India, and it will be instituted so soon as the Bishop can command the services of the proper men.

2. *Bulgaria*.—The question of taking a part in resuscitating the old Oriental Churches within the Turkish empire was then taken up, and interesting and satisfactory information was produced in favour of sending a missionary into the country to the south of the Danube, into Bulgaria. These people are of the Greek Church, though not of the Greek nation, and are fallen into as deep superstition and darkness as any of the Oriental Churches; and yet they are not so bigoted, but are of a mild, inquiring, religious disposition, and exceedingly athirst for the word of God. It was believed to be our duty to send a missionary to these people at as early a day as practicable, and accordingly the Bishop was authorized to institute a mission in Bulgaria. It is believed that this mission can be prosecuted without much difficulty,

under the protection of the Turkish government, which has granted full and universal toleration to the Protestant Churches.

3. *France*.—The relations of France with Europe cannot be comprehended except by those who are very well informed on European affairs. France has never been thoroughly Roman Catholic: she has been jealous of the Papal authority, and has always claimed to be the *Gallic Church*; and not strictly the *Roman Catholic Church*, but the *Gallic Catholic Church*. And although she has received the institution of her bishops at the hands of the Pope, she has never yielded to him the absolute authority to appoint them without her knowledge and consent. Here is a tangible point to which the Protestant evangelical missions may attach themselves, and find favour and fruit among the people. A wide door was open in the city of Nice, in Sardinia, which is the gateway on the Mediterranean between France and Italy. An intelligent evangelical French minister was in the midst of the work, and was ready to prosecute it if aided. The appropriation was made, to be expended under the direction of Rev. Charles Cooke, D. D., President of the French Methodist Conference. We have, therefore, a good guarantee that the appropriation will be well expended.

4. *Italy*.—Information has reached the Board that the door is wide open into the higher Alps, on the borders of Italy, into the valleys occupied by the good and great Felix Neff. The French Methodist Conference now occupies this region by Mr. Rostan, one of their missionaries, and Dr. Cooke earnestly appealed to our Board to enable him to send another missionary to aid Mr. Rostan. We have authorized him to do so for us, and have made him a grant towards employing three other suitable men who are ready to enter the work if he could receive them. Yet we have kept our grants within the appropriations.

The details of the appropriations are as follows:—

Foreign Missions.

Regular work in Liberia, Africa.....	\$20,000
Monrovia Seminary.....	1,500
Education of promising coloured youths, male or female.....	1,500
For visit of Bishop Scott, and for an enlargement of the work in and beyond the Republic.....	3,000
China Mission.....	10,000
German Mission.....	10,000
South American Mission.....	4,000
Total for Foreign Missions.....	\$50,000

Domestic Missions.

German Missions.....	43,300
Foreign populations other than German	10,250
Indian Missions.....	13,500
English Domestic Missions, including Oregon and California.....	74,250

Total for Domestic Missions.....\$141,300

New Missions.

For the work in France.....	\$2,500
For the commencement of a mission in Bulgaria, in Turkey.....	5,000
For the commencement of a mission in India.....	7,500
For the work in Sweden and Norway.....	750

Total for new Foreign Missions...\$15,750

Special Appropriations.

To institute a mission to the Germans in California.....	\$2,000
Sundry small appropriations.....	950

Total.....\$210,000

The Report next proceeds to explain at length the plans for raising Missionary funds established at the last General Conference, (Discipline, Part iii, chap. iv;) and also the plan, or rather the machinery, for carrying on the Missionary work itself. Then follows a summary of the Missions themselves, which we condense as follows:—

Classification of Missions.

Our missions are divided into two principal classes, Domestic and Foreign. The Domestic Missions are subdivided into three classes:—1. Missions to those who speak the English language in the destitute or new portions of the country; 2. To the Indians; 3. To the foreigners who have settled together in various portions of the country, and in particular quarters of our cities. Of these, our missions to the Germans are the most numerous and successful; but we have missions to the Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, and French. As our Domestic are our oldest missions, and at present, perhaps, the most important, we will speak of them first.

Domestic Missions Proper.

Conferences.	Mis- sions.	Mission- aries.	Members.	Proba- tioners.
Baltimore.....	4	4	104	22
Philadelphia.....	16	16	1,714	380
New-Jersey.....	1	1	100	17
Providence.....	16	16	793	154
New-England.....	29	29	1,582	75
New-York.....	9	9	270	71
New-York East.....	11	11	276	59
New-Hampshire.....	16	16	1,364	249
Western Virginia.....	16	16	2,747	714
Troy.....	11	11	1,196	323
Vermont.....	..	..	..	..
Pittsburgh.....	5	5	131	19
Black River.....	15	15	650	48
Maine.....	12	12	599	51
East Maine.....	19	19	1,560	567
Wyoming.....	7	7	876	83
Erie.....	3	3	628	166

Conferences.

Conferences.	Mis- sions.	Mission- aries.	Mem- bers.	Proba- tioners.
Oneida.....	7	7	784	74
East Genesee.....	12	12	1,262	292
North Ohio.....	8	8	1,227	243
Ohio.....	3	3	68	2
Wisconsin.....	41	41	2,614	670
Genesee.....	4	4	208	24
Michigan.....	2	2	208	76
Rock River.....	15	15	1,081	13
Cincinnati and Ky.....	27	27	2,469	49
Iowa.....	5	5	554	105
Missouri and Ark.....	57	57	4,767	688
Illinois.....	8	8	432	64
Southern Illinois.....	16	16	2,067	621
N. W. Indiana.....	4	4	202	49
North Indiana.....	12	12	1,162	317
S. E. Indiana.....	1	1	82	11
Indiana.....	10	10	1,186	354
Oregon.....	23	23	475	170
California.....	38	38	534	198
Total.....	493	505	35,834	6,830

Indian Missions.

Conferences.	Mis- sions.	Mission- aries.	Members.	Proba- tioners.	L. P.
Missouri.....	4	5	144	60	..
Wisconsin.....	1	1	138	..	..
Black River.....	1	1	29	11	..
Oneida.....	1	1	25	10	1
Onondagas.....	1	1	44	1	..
Michigan.....	1	2	176	50	1
Kazier Mission.....	1	1	205	6	2
Janesville.....	1	2	183	15	..
Saut St. Marie.....	1	2	60	12	..
Kewawenon.....	1	1	47	11	..
Total.....	13	17	1,051	176	5

German Missions.

	Mis- sions.	Mission- aries.	Mem- bers.	Proba- tioners.	L. P.	
New-York District	15	15	606	248	9	
Cincinnati	"	9	14	898	222	16
Pittsburgh	"	10	12	993	131	7
North Ohio	"	10	15	641	185	6
St. Louis	"	13	13	815	155	10
Missouri	"	12	13	685	193	18
Quincy	"	8	10	581	86	4
Iowa	"	8	13	450	113	10
Wisconsin	"	10	14	405	279	5
South Indiana	"	12	14	1,149	224	5
North "	"	8	12	511	168	4
	115	145	7,734	2,004	94	

Swedish Missions.

Mis- sions.	Mission- aries.	Mem- bers.	Proba- tioners.	L. P.
New-York Conference.....	1	2	43	38
Rock River.....	1	3	273	32
Total.....	2	5	316	70

Welsh Missions.

	Mis- sions.	Mission- aries.	Mem- bers.	Proba- tioners.	L. P.
Pittsburgh Conf.....	1	1	53	3	4
Black River	1	1	96	2	3
Oneida	1	1	57	..	3
North Ohio	1	1	15	..	..
Wisconsin	1	1	12	..	..
Cincinnati	1	1	no return.	..	..
Ohio	1	1	12	14	..
	7	7	245	19	10

Norwegian Missions.

	Mis- sions.	Mem- bers.	Pro- tectors.
Wisconsin Conference...	1	3	118
Iowa "	1	1	21
	2	4	139

French Missions.

New-York Conference...	1	1	..
Black River "	1	1	24
Michigan "	1	1	10
	3	3	34

Foreign Missions.

OUR FOREIGN MISSIONS are necessarily few, and as yet small in influence and extent, because they have been but recently instituted. We have not been organized as a Church yet seventy years, during which time our action and unexampled growth have necessarily been confined mainly to our own country.

THE AFRICAN MISSION, in the Republic of Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, is our oldest foreign mission. When the American Colonization Society laid the foundations of this Republic by planting a colony there, many members of our Church, and one or two local preachers, were among the colonists. These constituted the nucleus of the mission which was established some twenty or twenty-five years ago. It has cost much treasure, and some precious lives; but the fruits of it are inestimable. It is now formed into a regular annual conference, composed of three presiding elders' districts, each with its circuits, stations, and day and Sunday schools. The mission now covers the whole territory of Liberia and the territory of the Maryland colony at Cape Palmas, and has access to the whole colonial population, amounting to, say seventy-five hundred, and to the numerous towns and villages of the natives, who amount to, say one hundred and forty thousand. The annual conference consists of twenty-one members in full connexion and on trial, and there are in all the Churches twelve hundred and fifty-seven communicants, being about one in seven of the whole colonial population. There are twenty Sunday schools, containing seven hundred and thirty-one scholars; one day school at Cape Palmas; and one girls' school at Millsburgh, under the care of Mrs. Wilkins; and a fine new academy in Monrovia, under the care of Rev. James W. Horne as principal. And to give more efficiency to this mission one of our beloved bishops (Bishop Scott) is at this present writing (Feb. 12) in Africa, superintending the conference, ordaining

the missionaries, and making himself acquainted with the whole work. We add the latest information in the form of a table:—

CIRCUITS.	Members.	Probationers.	Local Preachers.	No. S. Schools.	No. S. S. Scholars.	No. S. S. Teachers.	No. of Sup'rs.	Vols. in Library.	Day Schools.	Day Scholars.	Bible Classes.
Monrovia.....	945	38	2	1	10	11	3	325	1	40	..
L. Caldwell....	151	30	2	2	91	7	3	260	2	57	..
U. Caldwell....	72	4	2	1	54	12	1	160	2	70	..
Millsburgh and White Plains	77	7	2	1	75	12	1	150	2	65	..
Heddington & Robertsville..	54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Marshall.....	24	2	1	1	32	7	1	48	..	..	..
Bassa & Edina	151	1	6	3	117	15	3	250	3	65	..
Since and Reedsville...	190	25	2	3	140	15	3	200	2	90	..
Cape Palmas...	166	20	2	4	122	18	4	370	3	50	2
Cape Mount.....	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	1	10	..
Lancasterborough (Native).....	..	..	..	..	1	10	1	..	1	10	..
Peter Harris (Native).....	..	..	..	..	1	10	1	..	1	10	..
	1,120	127	20	20	731	100	20	1,643	16	517	2

OUR CHINA MISSION was instituted about seven years ago, and has already offered up two precious lives in its holy cause—Mrs. Jane Isabel White, wife of Rev. M. C. White; and the Rev. Judson Dwight Collins, of the Michigan Conference. The brethren who are there have unrestrained access to the people of Fuh-Chau; and are preaching, instituting schools, and translating and printing the Holy Scriptures in the dialect of the province. Fifty years ago there was not one Protestant missionary in China; now there are nearly one hundred. Twenty years ago China was accessible only at one point, (Canton,) and here only under great restraint and jealousy; now, the five principal cities on the coast are freely open, and are occupied by Protestant missionaries, namely, Canton, Amoy, Ningpo, Fuh-Chau, and Shanghai; and through these cities free access is had to preach to twenty millions of Pagan Chinese, and to distribute books throughout the southern and eastern parts of the empire. We add a list of our missionaries now in Fuh-Chau:

Rev. R. S. Maclay, Superintendent, Fuh-Chau, China.

Rev. M. C. White.

Rev. I. W. Wiley, M. D., Missionary Physician.

Rev. J. Colder.

These gentlemen are all married, and their wives are true helpers in our mission.

OUR FOREIGN GERMAN MISSION sprang out of the work among the Germans in this country. Rev. L. S. Jacoby was sent out, with instructions to establish the head-quarters of a mission in the free city of Bremen. He did so in autumn, 1849.

The word of the Lord immediately began to take effect, and to spread, so that it was necessary to send out additional missionaries. The mission has extended itself formally to Hamburg on the North, and to Frankfort on the South, and its influence has penetrated all the surrounding States, and is established in the kingdom of Wurtemberg. We give a list of the missionaries:—

L. S. Jacoby, superintendent.

E. Riemenschneider, Frankfort-on-the-Maine.

C. H. Doering, Hamburg.

L. Nippert, Wurtemberg.

H. Nielsen, Bremen Circuit.

W. Fiege, helper, “

— *Gluck*, helper in Wurtemberg.

— *Walto*, “ “

Ehrhardt Wunderlich, helper, Saxony mission.

C. Feldmann, }

E. C. Poppe, } Colporteurs.

C. Narhman, }

Brother *Schuhmacher* is Librarian and Colporteur without pay.

OUR SOUTH AMERICAN MISSION is now confined to the city of Buenos Ayres. It once occupied Monte Video also. The chief objects of this mission are—*First*, For the religious instruction and comfort of the resident Protestant population; *Secondly*, To exhibit to the Roman Catholic population the pure evangelical gospel and worship.

RECEIPTS FOR 1852.

That the Church and congregations may clearly understand the state of the Treasury during the year 1852, and be able to understand what is necessary to be done in 1853, we will here set down the receipts during 1852, and the appropriations for 1853:—

Receipts at New-York, 1852,	\$121,004 61
“ “ Cincinnati, “	44,713 15
Total.....	\$165,717 76

Counting the membership of the Church at 700,000, the average of the contributions for 1852 is 23 7-10 cents per member very nearly. The appropriations for 1853 are \$210,000, being an advance over the receipts of 1852 of \$44,283; and to make up the estimates for 1853, the contributions, assuming still 700,000 members, must be exactly 30 cents per member throughout the whole Church, or an advance on the contributions of twenty-five per cent., or one-quarter more for each member this year than last.

Now, if every member will, from a sense of duty, give twenty-five cents, those members who give more, from a sense of duty and from ability, will make up the amount required for 1853. And if each pastor of a Church will, timely, and in an earnest and affectionate manner, ask his Church and congregation to make their arrangements to do this, by means of collectors provided for in the Discipline, and the annual collection and contributions on some Sunday in the year, the money will be freely and gladly contributed, and our missions greatly extended and generously supported.

We continue our statement of the contents of the principal American Theological Journals:—

Meersburg Quarterly Review, for January:—I. The Review and the Quarterly: II. Parochial, or Christian Schools: III. The Church of the Middle Ages: IV. The Behemoth and Leviathan of the Book of Job: V. Dr. Nevin and his Antagonists: VI. German Theology and the Church Question.

Free-Will Baptist Quarterly, for January:—I. Introductory: II. The Progress and Defects of Christian Civilization: III. Modern Sectical Tendencies: IV. Daniel Webster: V. Hebrew Poetry: VI. Soul Freedom: VII. Religious Biography: VIII. Notices.

New-York Quarterly, for January:—I. R. W. Emerson: II. Life and Letters of Niebuhr: III. New Works on Slavery: IV. Disclosures from the Interior: V. Bancroft's United States—from the French of Count Circourt: VI. Science—European and American Researches: VII. Outline Drawings: VIII. Scenes and Thoughts in Europe: IX. Kitto's Daily Bible Illustrations: X. Contemporary Literature.

Evangelical Review, for January:—I. Symbolism not opposed to Evangelical Religion: II. Elemental Contrast of the Religion: III. Apostolic Fathers: IV. Notes on Prophecy: V. Contribution to the Christology of the Church: VI. The Church and her Ministry.

Brownson's Quarterly Review, for January:—I. The Worship of Mary: II. The Two Orders, Spiritual and Temporal: III. Father Gury's Moral Theology: IV. Protestantism not a Religion: V. Catholics of England and Ireland.

Theological and Literary Journal, for January:—I. Dr. Hitchcock's Religion of Geology: II. The neglect of the Sacred Scriptures: III. Dr. Wordsworth's Lectures

on the Apocalypse : IV. A Designation and Exposition of the Figures of Isaiah, chap. xliii : V. The Fulness of the Times : VI. Mr. Williamson's Letter to a Millenarian : VII. The reëstablishment of the Napoleon Dynasty.

North American Review, for January :—I. Life and Letters of Niebuhr : II. Herbert's Captains of the Old World : III. Sir Wm. Hamilton on Philosophy and Education : IV. Novels and Novelists : V. Weber's Universal History : VI. Frere's Version of Aristophanes : VII. Farini's Republic at Rome : VIII. Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Christian Examiner, for January :—I. Recent Aspects of Judaism : II. Shall we introduce some Liturgical or Ritual Forms in our Worship ? III. Reflections : IV. The Council of Ephesus : V. The Evangelical and the Philosophical Spirit in Religion : VI. Gray's Addresses : VII. Bartol's Discourses.

Universalist Quarterly and General Review, for January :—I. Astronomy—Immortality : II. The Apostles and Saints judging Israel and the World : III. Condition of Men after Death : IV. Christ and the Scriptures : V. What must we do to be saved ? VI. Literary Notices.

Biblical Repertory, for January :—I. Outlines of Moral Science : II. Epistle to Diognetus : III. Modern Millenarianism :

IV. China and California : V. Theology of the Old Testament : VI. Ventilation of Churches.

Bibliotheca Sacra, and American Biblical Repository, (Andover,) for January :—I. Socrates as a Teacher : II. The Right Interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures—the Helps and the Hinderances : III. The Works of Samuel Hopkins : IV. Prolegomena to Tischendorf's New Edition of the Septuagint : V. Outlines of a Journey in Palestine in 1852, by E. Robinson, E. Smith, and others : VI. College Course, and its Enlargements for Graduates : VII. The Relations and consequent Mutual Duties between the Philosopher and the Theologian.

Southern Presbyterian Review, for January :—I. The claims of the English Language : II. Unregeneracy in the Ministry : III. The Doctrine of Future Punishment : IV. Inspiration *versus* Morrell's Theory : V. The Presbyterian Church and Foreign Missions : VI. Our Ecclesiastical Literature : VII. Necrology—Rev. Wm. H. Burr, D. D.

Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for January :—I. Reason and Revelation : II. Fundamental Element of Church Government : III. Philosophical Necessity : IV. Ecclesiastical Forms : V. Roman Literature : VI. Inskip on Methodism : VII. Zechariah.

Classical and Miscellaneous.

EUROPEAN.

WE have received the first volume of a copious and elaborate Life of Cicero, under the title, *Leben des M. Tullius Cicero, von C. A. F. BRUCKNER, Erster Theil*, (Göttingen, 1852 ; 8vo., pp. 865.)

THE Second Series of Mr. Layard's "*Monuments of Nineveh*" was announced for publication in London in January, but we have not yet seen it. It is to be in one volume, folio, with 70 plates, containing Specimens of the most remarkable Sculptures, Bas-Reliefs, Bronzes, &c., principally illustrative of the Wars and Exploits of Sennacherib, from his Palace at Kouyunjik, discovered by Mr. Layard during his second visit to Assyria. It has been ascertained, from inscriptions lately deciphered, that the Palace of Kouyunjik, excavated by Mr. Layard, was built by Sennacherib, King of Assyria, and that its Sculptures represent events recorded in Sacred History, 2 Kings, chaps. xvii and xviii. The corresponding treatise for general circulation is also soon to be issued under

the title of Nineveh and Babylon: being the Narrative of a Second Expedition to Assyria. By AUSTEN H. LAYARD, M. P. With 400 plates and wood-cuts. One vol., 8vo.

THE *Encyclopædia Britannica* is now in press in an eighth edition, under the editorship of THOMAS STEWART TRAILL, M. D., F. R. S. E., Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Edinburgh. It was first published in three volumes 4to., 1771 ; next in ten volumes, in 1778 ; in eighteen volumes in 1797, to which was added the SUPPLEMENT, in two volumes, by BISHOP GLEIG, in 1801 ; this was followed by an edition in twenty volumes, in 1810, and other two editions during the succeeding ten years ; to which was added the celebrated SUPPLEMENT, in six volumes 4to., edited by PROFESSOR NAPIER, commenced in 1815, and finished in 1824, The Eighth Edition will undergo careful revision and extensive correction. Articles rendered imperfect by the lapse of time

will be submitted for improvement to writers intimately conversant with the respective subjects, whilst other articles will be superseded by entirely new contributions, and subjects not formerly embraced in its pages will be added. The *First Volume* will consist of the Dissertations by DUGALD STEWART and SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH, on the Progress of Metaphysical and Ethical Philosophy; and by Professor PLAYFAIR and Sir JOHN LESLIE, on the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Science. In the new edition the Dissertation of Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH will be accompanied with a Preface by W. WHEWELL, D. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge. To these will be added two New Dissertations—the first by the ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN, on the Rise, Progress, and Corruptions of Christianity; the second by JAMES D. FORBES, F. R. S., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh; being a continuation of the Dissertations on the Progress of Physical Science to the present time.

WILLIAM EMPSON,—better known as Prof. Empson, and editor of the “*Edinburgh Review*,”—died on the 10th inst., at the East India College, Haileybury, in his sixty-third year, the immediate cause of his death being a ruptured blood-vessel. Mr. Empson filled the important chair of Professor of Civil Law at Haileybury,—a chair formerly occupied by Malthus and Mackintosh. Mr. Empson was educated, first at Winchester, and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge. He married Francis Jeffrey's only child, and through his influence succeeded the late Mr. Macvey Napier as editor of the “*Edinburgh Review*.” Mr. Empson is said to have written some sixty articles for the “*Edinburgh Review* :”—these chiefly, of course, during the period when he was not its editor. He wrote chiefly on law, the condition of the poorer classes, negro slavery, domestic politics, poetry, and general literature and biography. No questions appeared more congenial to his nature than those which denounced oppression and tyranny, whether political or ecclesiastical; and those which, in reviewing the lives of the good and the great, excited a train of moral feelings. Mr. W. Cornewall Lewis has been chosen as his successor in the editorship of the *Edinburgh*.

The older editions of *SUIDAS* have become scarce and dear. Eighteen years ago Professor G. Bernhardt began to revise Gaisford's edition for republication, and published the text in a few years there-

after. His labour on *Suidas*, however, has only just been completed in the final issue of the *Addenda*, *Corrigenda*, and *Indices*, together with an *Essay on Lexicography*. The whole is now offered under the title, “*Suidæ Lexicon, Græce et Latine, ad fidem Optimorum Librorum exactum post THOMAM GAISFORDUM; recensit et Annotatione critica instruxit GODOFREDUS BERNHARDY*. 2 vols., 4to. The whole work can now be had for about twenty dollars.

AMONG the new works in miscellaneous literature recently announced in Great Britain are the following, viz. :—

Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George the Third. From Original Family Documents. By the DUKE of BUCKINGHAM and CHANDOS, K. G., &c. 2 vols., 8vo. :—*A Tour of Inquiry through France and Italy*. Illustrating their present Political, Social, and Religious Condition. By EDMUND SPENCER, Esq., author of “*Travels in European Turkey*,” “*Circassia*,” &c. 2 vols., post 8vo. :—*Military Life in Algeria*. By the Count P. DE CASTELLANE. 2 vols., post 8vo. :—*Travels in India and Cashmir*. By Baron SCHONBERG. 2 vols., post 8vo. :—*Memoirs of John Abernethy, F. R. S.*; with a View of his Writings, Lectures, and Character. By GEORGE MACILWAIN, F.R.C.S. 2 vols., post 8vo. :—*Fra Dolcino and His Times*: being an Account of a General Struggle for Ecclesiastical Reform, and of an Anti-Heretical Crusade in Italy, in the Fourteenth Century. By L. MARIOTTI. Post 8vo. :—*Mrs. Jameson's Legends of the Madonna*, as represented in the Fine Arts. With 55 drawings by the Author, and 152 wood-engravings. Square crown 8vo. :—*Essays on Political and Social Science*, contributed chiefly to the “*Edinburgh Review*.” By WILLIAM R. GREG. 2 vols., 8vo. :—*The Earl of Belfast's Lectures on the English Poets and Poetry of the Nineteenth Century*. Feap. 8vo. :—*The History of Scotland, from the Revolution to the extinction of the last Jacobite Rebellion (1689–1748)*. By JOHN HILL BURTON. 2 vols., 8vo. :—*Felice's History of the Protestants of France, from 1521 to 1851*. Translated from the second, revised, and corrected edition, by E. WEST. 2 vols., post 8vo. :—*The Indian Archipelago: Its History and Present State*. By HORACE ST. JOHN, Author of “*History of the British Conquest in India*.” 2 vols., post 8vo. :—*Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox*. Edited by the HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M. P. 2 vols., 8vo. :—*History of the Administration of the East India Company*. By JOHN WILLIAM KAYE,

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Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien nach den Zeichnungen der von Sr. M. dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. nach diesen Ländern gesendeten u. in den J. 1842–1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftl. Expedition auf Befehl Sr. M. des Königs herausgeg. u. erläutert von C. R. Lepsius. Tafeln. 5–24. Lief. Berlin, 1850–52. 200 Steintaf. in Bunt-u. Tondr. Imp.-Fol.

Grammaire persane, ou principes de l'iranien moderne, accompagnées de fac-simile pour servir de modèles d'écriture et de style pour la correspondance diplomatique et familière; par Alex. Chodakow, anc. consul de France en Perse, etc. Paris, 1852; 8vo.

Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litthauischen, Altslawischen, Gothischen u. Deutschen. Von Fz. Bopp. 6 Abtheil. Berlin, 1851. S. 1157–1511. 4to.

De poësis latinae rhythmis et rimis, praeipue monachorum. Scriptis Chr. Thph. Schuch. 92 pp., 8vo.

Analecta Horatiana scripsit Joannes Horkel, Phil. Dr. Prof. r. collegii Fridericiani Regiment. Director, Instit. archaeol. Romani, Aretinae et Pontaniana soc. ep. Berolini, 1852. 152 pp., 8vo.

Grundriss der Grammatik des indo-europäischen Sprachstammes. Von Mor. Rapp, Prof. 1. Bd. Auch unt. d. Tit.: Vergleichende Grammatik. Encyklopädische Abtheilung. Stuttgart, 1852. XII u. 256 pp., 8vo.

Empedoclis Agrigentini Fragmenta. Disposuit, recensuit, adnotavit Henr. Stein. Praemissa est de Empedoclis scriptis disputatio. Bonnae, 1852. 88 pp., 8vo.

Pathologiae graeci Sermonis elementa, von Chr. A. Lobeck, in 2 vols. Vol. I., 8vo.

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